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STORIES

FROM

FROISSART.

BY THE LATE

BARRY ST. LEGER, Esq.

AUTHOR OF "GILBERT EARLE," "TALES OF THE PASSIONS," &c.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

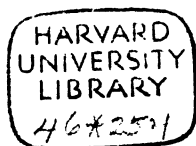
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PREFATORY ESSAY.

THE object intended in the following collection is to present a series of pictures of the ages immediately preceding that of the revival of learning, in the manner, and, as much as it is possible, in the words, of the original and contemporary historians—a series of pictures not so much displaying laboured and professed portraitures, as attempting to amalgamate and condense those traits of customs and of morals (of *mœurs*, in short), which every writer almost unconsciously gives of the times in which, and of which, he writes.

With this primary object in view, the selection of suitable pieces was less easy than may be imagined. On the one hand, it was difficult to avoid giving stories and traits so generally known, as to have become common and familiar; and on the other, it was desirable to present such as would be really conducive to the main design,—not those which, with a change or a suppression of names, might have happened in any coun-

try and at any period. The wars which so almost universally desolated the Christian world during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries have (especially during the latter era) but little to distinguish them from any other wars ; except, perhaps, in their long continuance and unvaried ferocity—ferocity, not arising so much from national, or even from religious hatred, as from the sort of system to which murder and pillage had been reduced, and the slight degree of reprobation with which the most outrageous cruelties were visited. But the *details* of these wars have little specifically characteristic. And of war,—war, —endless, eternal war, the Chroniclers, as might be expected, chiefly treat. The negotiations which led to wars, or which closed them by a peace or truce, almost as really, though less openly hostile, form the principal variety : and, during anything like a continuance of peace (which in these ages may almost be looked for in vain), the personal history of kings and courts is the chief and almost solitary topic of discussion. The people, who were governed and oppressed, and who, by their labours and slavery, contributed to the splendour of these courts, and to the bloodshed of the times, by the sacrifice of their lives, never seem to have been considered subjects worthy of the honour of

record. The age was not yet arrived, when the dignity of the people was felt and appreciated as it has been since; and when princes were compelled to feel and acknowledge the strength of those from whom they derived their own power. In those days, the history of a king, the court, and the church, was the history of the times; but the subsequent progress of civil and religious liberty has changed the duty of the historian: the people, the true and legitimate source of power, have become the principal objects of his pen, and his pages have become the history of mankind, and not of individuals.

History, as it is commonly written, is only the history of causes,—causes plainly and simply stated,—without any reference to their effects,—often with scarcely any appearance of a consciousness of their existence. The state of society—the happiness or unhappiness—the virtue or the wickedness of the great body of the people, which are the necessary effects, and ought to be the direct objects of all these wars and treaties; of these proceedings, in fact, of the government, instituted to promote their weal, and to protect them from evil,—these effects, by which the causes of the value can be rated, are left almost unrecorded; or, at all events, are treated in a very slight;

and utterly unworthy manner. Here and there, perhaps, the late historians present a chapter on the progress of civilization, during the period in which they have been detailing the minutest facts, and the most secret operations of princes and their advisers; but the main bulk of their histories, as of the chronicles from which they are derived, is composed of civil and military history alone, and this only so far as it is connected with the monarch and his nobles, and never with any view to its influence on the happiness or morals of the people, who seem to be considered as the mere material, created for the uses of the upper classes, who usurped all the power that was won by their blood.

The very chapters, which profess to treat of these important and interesting subjects, generally serve only to show the narrowness of their compass, their limited extent, and feeble information. That this is the case, will be apparent to any reader of history, who, after accompanying any statesman or hero through the course of half a volume, till he has become almost personally acquainted with his mind, finds, in the end, a few chapters only, professing to give illustrations of the internal and domestic history of the times.

A reader would certainly be much more likely to appreciate the virtues of the hero he admires, and

to condemn the vices of the tyrant whom he reprobates, if the history of the virtues of the one and the misdeeds of the other were accompanied by that general insight into the manners and characters of the times in which they lived, and their individual memoirs had formed a portion of the general history.

In historical pictures it is the back-ground that tells the story of the hero who is intended to be portrayed, more than the individual portraiture itself; and thus the actions of the prominent personages in history should be illustrated by the details of the domestic and internal habits of the times. As the history of the public actions of a man's life is not a history of the man, so is not the mere detail of its wars and treaties the true history of a nation.

These details of the manners, habits and progress of the people have always been too slightly and contemptuously hurried over, and flung, as it were, into a corner by themselves, instead of being constantly interwoven with the web and woof of the narrative. A boy, when he begins to read history, comes to a name, the celebrity of which (whether for good or evil, it matters not, for both, unfortunately, confer on it an equal degree) has been long familiar to his ears; he eagerly pursues the history of his life and deeds;—he warms

with interest as he advances—takes up, perhaps, a theory of his own as to the authority of the facts, or the tendencies of the character, according to the tenor of his own disposition;—and, at the last, when he has accompanied his hero from the cradle to the grave, till he feels for him almost the interest and knowledge of an acquaintance, he then comes to a cold and meagre description of the manners of the age, and the habits of life peculiar to the people. Thus the masses are sacrificed to the individual, in history, as much as they were in the reality, in so many of the governments of these times. Thus it is, that from the progress of domestic arts, and the portraitures of daily habits, not being sufficiently made concomitant with the narrative of general history, we are left miserably ignorant and in the dark as to their relative state, at any given period to a certain degree removed from our own. And the scanty and insufficient views which, at long intervals, *are* given to us of such matters, serve only to render the general want of them more conspicuous.

Dr. Henry is, perhaps, the only one of our late historians who has duly estimated, and endeavoured to supply, this lamentable deficiency in our historical literature. But even he has not disposed the vast mass of learning and information which he brings to

his subject, in that order which would be most calculated to give it due and full effect. He supplies, indeed, the great want which had been previously felt of information of this nature; but the manner in which he has arranged it prevents its bearing sufficiently contemporaneously upon the public history of the period to which it relates.

His subdivisions are so many, and such, as to break that unity which is always necessary to give a consecutiveness of interest to an historical work. He is not content with dividing his periods into the respective reigns of our kings, but he continues them often into periods of centuries, and even more. Thus, after having followed him up to a certain date, it is not a little chilling to be plunged back into the antiquity of a century before. The information he affords is most valuable, but it often comes after we have ceased to wish for it. *Bis dat qui cito dat*, was never more true than in such matters*.

This defect in his plan, also, serves to give rather a narrative than a picture of the manners of the times.

* Dr. Henry's subdivisions are also too many.—Ecclesiastical, constitutional, and legislative history might surely be conducted along with the civil and military; and learning, arts, manners, &c., might surely be conjoined instead of divided.

The same may also be observed with respect to Hollinshed, who was more of an historian than a mere chronicler, inasmuch as he wrote towards the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign.

One great fault of historians, and more particularly perhaps contemporary ones, is that they are apt to consider revolutions and changes in far too confined a point of view; they are too apt to limit the epoch of their occurrence by its visible signs, and not to perceive or consider that the results have been long in preparation, by the progress which society had made towards their accomplishment. History should not merely be the history of princes, the annals of individual prowess, or the mere progress of arms; it should enable us to study the different events by which the people have gradually assumed their present station; and, at a period like that in which we live, this has become an occupation of the most lively interest. The progress of the people, however, seems to have been quite a secondary consideration with the historians of the ages of which we treat. Nobles and knights figure in their pages, because the annalist or chronicler was entertained at their expense, and bestowed all his talent on the illustration of their deeds of arms, which were too frequently deeds of cruelty as well as of courage. The

military and the clergy, the quarrels and encroachments of warriors and clerks, the tyranny of arms, and the thralldom of bigotry, alone fill their pages. There is no history of that gradual development of the human understanding, which created and supported the wish for liberty; no detail of the progress of those sentiments and feelings by which the degraded people were gradually learning their own importance, till they made their rulers feel that they alone were the true source of power, and that the governed were entitled to privileges as well as their governors.

Almost every institution in these ages tended to suppress and check the progress of the people.

The church taught, that every hope of happiness in a better world was derived from the blindest submission, in this, to the tenets and doctrines which the heads of that establishment chose to disseminate, and which inculcated the very worst species of slavery, —that of the mind. The ecclesiastical power, at one period, had indeed attained to such a pitch, that we may consider Europe like one great religious federative republic, governed by a clerical aristocracy. It is true, that within the pale of the church was found the only rational form of legal jurisprudence; and nothing certainly existed out of its influence, but brutal and unor

ganized force. But the church never exerted this influence for the benefit of the people at large. The increase of temporal power—the inculcation of such a blind obedience as would tend to its continuance, were its main objects, and unfortunately these objects were only to be attained and maintained by the continued ignorance of the people. The heads of the church felt that any intellectual progress would shake a tower that was built upon the ignorance of the multitude; and thus a portion of their creed was that war against the dissemination of knowledge, which is even, in some degree, advocated by the powers of the present day.

To the power of the church, until its more permanent establishment, was opposed that of the warlike nobles, who formed an armed feudality, but whose only aim was to oppose by their arms, at one period, the very power upon which their ignorance and superstition induced them to bow at others. This armed feudality was, however, but a confused mass of isolated forces, generally as much prepared to succumb from their religious fears, as they were to resist from the superiority of their valour. But what ascendancy could the mailed baron hope to attain, who could plunder a monastery at night, and prostrate himself

at its altars in the morning, to pray forgiveness of his sins, and to expiate the very offences which he had committed at the foot of the very shrine at which he knelt?

These two great parties thought only of the extension of their own power, and never considered the privileges of the people. They joined equally in lording it over the inferior order of society; and both acted as though the permanence of their strength consisted in the abject thralldom, both of mind and body, of the great mass of an oppressed population.

The church, however, being far better organized, and its votaries animated by one common spirit and one common object, rose superior to the desultory efforts of the nobles, and established their power over both the aristocracy and the people. The kings of Europe bowed before the decision of the church; while her interdictions made them tremble on their thrones; and in time, the head of this monachal establishment succeeded in exercising the power of a universal monarch. This influence was experienced not only by kings who held their power under its permission, but was felt by whole masses of population, from one end of Europe to the other. Here again the Popes must have known their power to exist but through the

obedience of the people, and yet no amelioration of their fate was afforded, no advancement in the general scale of society was effected or projected for them. The kings and barons derived the right of keeping them in feudal slavery from the Pope, and they exercised this imaginary right with unequalled tyranny, so long as they did not offend the church. But the moment that the Pope pleased to issue his interdict, freeing the vassal from his allegiance, where was the power of the king, or nobleman, who considered it his due?—not only shaken to its foundation, but absolutely gone. Look at Philip Augustus, one of the most powerful monarchs of his time, during the period that France laboured under the interdict of the church through the refusal of the king to consummate his marriage with Ingeburg, whose piety had obtained the protection of the Pope, to whom she had confided her griefs. We find Philip, from an absolute and powerful monarch, become a desolate outcast, deserted by his ministers and by his subjects. The commonest serf, while the interdict lasted, would have shuddered to have employed himself in those offices, the performance of which, but a week before, was considered an honour, and contended for, by nobles.

What gave this interdict of the Pope its power?

What but the obedience of the people?—the submission to his edict by the degraded and oppressed masses of the population, who had not yet learned to feel their strength, or to assert their privilege?

Great, however, as was the power of the church, and extensive as was its influence, it could not entirely repress the exertion of human intellect. The tendency of the mind of man is to advance; facts themselves, unaided by illustration, make impressions, which in time stand in the place of other knowledge, and form perhaps that best kind of learning which is founded upon our own experience. All jurisdiction had been hitherto usurped by the monachal institutions of the times, more through the ignorance of the governed, than the learning or experience of the governors. But it was impossible to keep all knowledge within the walls of the convents, or hidden in the mysteries of their altars. It was impossible to shut up information in the languages of the dead, or to confine it in the illuminated volumes of the church libraries.

This progress of knowledge was slow, but sure. It was but a glimmer at first, but it was sufficient to show the surrounding darkness; and this was enough to set the human mind at work to dispel it.

The discovery of the Roman law opened the minds

of men ; and a class of persons arose, who acted under a system of notions totally independent of the church and of religion. The ideas of laymen became enlarged ; and the opinions of the people began, in cases of right and wrong, to refer to the tests of human reason, rather than to the declared and established standards of the church. From the commencement of the diffusion of knowledge, the power of the church became limited ; while the progress which had been made in the sciences, although small, tended still, in some degree, towards weakening its influence, and to the emancipation of the mind. Every thing that teaches men to reflect and compare must necessarily give a great blow to all systems of authority ; and as mankind saw the fallacy of these systems, their obedience to their founder gradually became lessened. Although the interdicts of the church still continued to produce temporary effects, the Pope could no longer command that passive obedience to his mandate, which made all Europe rise at his command. It is strange that the kings, though more nearly interested in opposing the papal power, were among the last who threw off its shackles ; but their ability to do so depended entirely upon the disposition of the people : for it is upon them, after all, in all ages, that the only true and lasting power is founded.

Still this power was not sufficiently appreciated by those who profited by it ; but when the contests became more frequent between the kings and the nobility, then indeed the influence of the people began to be felt still more strongly, if not actually acknowledged. These parties were successful, or the reverse, according to the number and fidelity of their adherents ; and the kings became at length glad to avail themselves of what they considered an inferior power, to repress the insolence of an aristocracy who acknowledged their suzerainty to a sovereign only in words, while they thwarted his will by their deeds. In these contests, the people had no superstitious feelings, no fears of purgatory—no dread of the horrors of excommunication, to create a blind obedience to any one power ; and though their feudal vassalage was sufficiently degrading, yet, in some respects, they were freer agents than while acting under the influence of the church. Hence arose all that petty warfare which, during these ages, deluged the countries of Europe, and particularly France and the neighbouring territories with blood. A set of dukes, marquises and counts, as well as a whole herd of inferior officers, arose, and arrogated to themselves rights, which enabled them to oppress and plunder at their plea-

sure. The kings, too weak to restrain their nobility, were compelled to wink at their injustice and excesses ; there was no restraint for the powerful and wicked, and the weak every where fell victims of oppression, till the history of these ages became that of one tissue of crime.

Those retainers of the nobility, who from the equality of their birth might be supposed to have had some sympathy with the sufferings of the people, felt the sweets of plunder and the fruits of rapine too strongly, not to add their weight to the oppression under which the citizens laboured. To bear arms, though in the meanest station of the service, gave them the privilege of lording it over their peaceful neighbour ; and they were sure to find, in the power of their feudal lord, a protection against the consequences of their injustice.

It may appear extraordinary that, among the masses of people who suffered, and suffered so severely, during so long a period, no bold spirit should arise to assert the freedom of himself and fellows—that no Hofer, no Tell, no Virginius should be found to struggle against the injustice of the oppressor, and punish the crimes of which they were the repeated victims. This must be attributed to the barbarous ignorance of the age of which we write. Knowledge, after all, is

the great key to liberty, and knowing that it is so, it has always been the interest of despotic rulers to keep their subjects in ignorance. They always felt that the chains which they bound round their victims must dissolve before its light ; they were aware that knowledge was strength, and knew that if it were once diffused amidst the great bulk of the people, no power, however despotic, could resist its influence. The great desideratum, therefore, was to preserve the continuance of this ignorance, on which so much depended. But to guard against the power which even the slight degree of knowledge then permitted was calculated to confer on its possessors, the feudal Seigneurs multiplied their force by horses, armour, places of strength, and implements of war, with the uses of which the common people were unacquainted ; while the clergy contrived to give them such an idea of their own sanctity, as to make them believe that their eternal welfare was confided to the hands of the church, and that the keys of hell, purgatory, and paradise, were in the keeping of the priesthood.

Hence arose that war against letters, those denunciations which characterized science by the name of sorcery, and that determination to punish every one who attempted to enlighten his fellow-creatures. The

rulers felt that, with any particle of knowledge, a link of the great chain of oppression, and consequently of their own power, was broken, and they resisted its progress with an inveteracy which was, at first, but too successful; and this war against the progress of the human intellect has continued in a greater or less degree from these remote and barbarous ages down to the present enlightened times, when the people know and feel their strength, and are gradually breaking down those institutions which would still present barriers to the perfection of their freedom. For the same spirit which, in these barbarous ages, dictated the scaffold, the auto da fé, and the torture, as the punishments of the few bold and grasping minds that dared to *think* amidst the ignorance of mankind, and to *see* amidst the surrounding darkness, still presides in the councils which enact laws for the abrogation of the liberty of the press, and which invent taxes to shackle the general dissemination of knowledge. The fears of the monarchs always appear to have been that the people should know too much of the arcana of government. At length, however, the vices both of the laical and clerical institutions became too glaring to be hidden from the eyes even of an ignorant populace; and thus the evil in time produced its own remedy.

For as the ascetic virtues of the first cenobites mainly contributed to the establishment of that authority by which the church obtained such extensive dominion, so did the vice and luxury of their successors contribute greatly to the destruction of its power. This likewise became the case in laical governments, where the vices and oppressions of the rulers, by straining the cord too tightly, broke it, and, letting loose the tide of human strength and feeling, gradually led to the abolition of ultra despotism, and to the establishment of rational freedom. People collected in towns made comparisons and observations,—discussed the conduct of their superiors,—reasoned on causes and effects;—their collision elicited opinion,—till, finally, beginning to be conscious of their own force, the people arrogated to themselves numerous privileges. Gathered together in communities, they learned to sympathise with each other, and to act in concert; and while, in some countries, they succeeded in establishing the independence of some solitary communes, in all, they accomplished a certain degree of liberty, and made one step, at least, towards the amelioration of their state.

The author of a late History of the Reign of Philip Augustus observes, that this desire for liberty broke out in almost all countries at pretty nearly the same time;

and charters were gradually given by the royal and feudal powers, which conferred the name of RIGHT upon those liberties which they had assumed. From this he infers that the best way to obtain freedom is to take it first, and get it written down afterwards. The increase and progress of this liberty, however, grew out of that necessity for mutual protection which the unsettled state of the times and the usurping tyrannies of the nobles required; and thus the establishment of municipal institutions became widely spread throughout Italy, France, Flanders, and England.

In the midst of these times, while noble was contending with noble, and the people struggling for liberty, till all was anarchy and confusion, an institution arose, which was destined to produce a very extensive influence upon the order and relations of society. It is not our province here to trace chivalry to its origin*, but merely to observe upon some of its influences on people and governments. In considering these influences to have been baleful rather than beneficial in their effects, we are aware how much we

* Those who are curious upon this subject, and who like accuracy of history mingled with the romantic detail of chivalric times, will do well to peruse the elegant *History of Chivalry*, written by Mr. James, and lately published in the National Library.

differ from most of the generally received opinions upon a subject that has received favour in the eyes of so many,—we are aware that we are destroying that romance which has thrown its fascinating popularity round the history of chivalry, and clothed its details with everything that could make the human heart beat with pleasure at their recital ; for where is the human breast that has not, at one period or another of its existence, thrilled at the accounts of knightly feats of valour performed amidst the splendour of the tournament, or the *melée* of the passage of arms ?—who has not, in imagination, broken his lance in honour of his ‘ fair ladye,’ and envied the valiant knight as he kneeled to receive the wreath, or the scarf, which his mistress has conferred as the meed of his bravery ?

It has been observed that the latter part, or, rather, the more advanced periods of life, are spent in unlearning a great deal of that which has been acquired at its commencement. Sentiments and thoughts are engendered by early reading, which are destined to be changed by experience ; the ardours of boyhood are quenched by the coldness of that maturity by which they are considered follies ; and the dreams of youth are dispelled by the dull realities of manhood. Romance is succeeded by reason, and the illusions of our

early sentiments and opinions vanish before the touchstone of our maturer judgment. The destruction of these early illusions is painful, but it is unfortunately in the natural course of events in the history of the human mind. In youth we *read* for entertainment, and without analysing what we read; but at a more advanced age we *think* for instruction, and look with very different eyes upon what had formerly conferred pleasure and excited admiration. As one prominent illustration of this change of feeling, who is there, that, in his early readings and conversation, has not learned to boast of what are called the 'golden days of good queen Bess,' and looked back at that monarch as the honour of our country, and considered her as a model fit for the imitation of any future sovereign? And who is there that, on a cool and dispassionate perusal of the times of Elizabeth, in the days of his maturer judgment, has not pronounced her to have been little else than a capricious tyrant—her reign characterised by her own favouritism and cruelty, and by the cupidity and exactions of her ministers? In short, analyse her reign from its commencement to its end, with regard to her own individual acts, and the greatest advocates for the results of her government must allow, that there was indeed very little to entitle her to the appellation of

'Good Queen Bess,' unless the word 'good' be illustrative of the caprice of a jealous woman, mingled with, and aggravated by, her power as a monarch.

In the same manner the ideas which are engendered by an early perusal and by our early thoughts of chivalry, are dispelled, when we come to consider its tendency and influence. We have been used ourselves to look at this institution with the eye of favour, and with feelings of enthusiasm—we have felt its deeds to have dazzled us in the annals of history, and to have given a romantic influence to the pages of the chronicler; we have been led away by the professed intentions of its institution, and deceived by the brilliancy of individual exploits into a blindness to the general tendency of its character.

Of the origin of chivalry, a late elegant historian of the institution *, who has by research dispelled many of the errors, and discarded much of what has hitherto been received as fact, says, 'that some poor nobles, probably suffering themselves from the oppression of more powerful lords, but at the same time touched with sincere compassion for the wretchedness which they saw around them, first leagued together with the holy purpose of redressing wrongs and defending the weak. They gave their hands to one another in pledge that

* James.

they would not turn back from the work, and called upon St. George to bless their righteous cause. The Church readily yielded its sanction to an institution so noble, aided it with prayers, and sanctified it with its solemn blessing. Religious enthusiasm became added to noble indignation and charitable zeal; and the spirit of chivalry, like the flame struck forth from the hard steel and dull flint, was kindled into sudden light by the savage cruelty of the nobles, and the heavy barbarity of the people.

Such is the real or imagined origin of this celebrated institution, and certainly the motives to which its origin is attributed are noble; and it appears, during the first stage of its progress, that it tended greatly towards the civilization of existing barbarism, and to the repression of many of the wrongs which had heretofore been committed with impunity. A licentious noble could no longer venture upon the plunder of his weaker neighbour, when he found that a public body had started into existence, which took upon itself to redress the cause of the weak against the strong.

Such an institution as this, from the moment that it was found to be so thoroughly established as to confer power on those who belonged to it, soon became (to use a modern word) fashionable; and every man

whose rank gave him a title to admission, became anxious to be enrolled in the list of its members; and while the powers of the institution were confined within the motives of its origin, it was not only popular, but most justly the admiration and glory of the countries in which it existed. But when did any power, emanating from mere military prowess or mere strength of arms exist, for any period, without abuse and corruption? A set of men whose profession was arms must soon become a powerful engine in any country, and under any government; how much more so must this have been the case where there were no regularly established laws, and where the right was permitted to rest with the strongest? The Church saw this growing strength, and gave their sanction to the knights of this institution, that the clergy might claim the support and protection which their power enabled them to confer, and they thus secured to themselves another, and a most powerful engine, in aid of the extension of their dominion. But we doubt much whether the Church, in its ambitious projects, would not quite as readily have given its sanction to a band of robbers willing to support its usurpation, as it did to this band of knights with all its panoply of chivalry.

In all histories of chivalry the manner in which its

members upheld the Christian religion, and devoted their arms to its propagation, has been spoken of as one of its greatest glories. With a champion in the field to lead forth the knowledge that had hitherto been imprisoned in the cloister, the influence of religion was said to spread and to increase. Such is the manner in which the Crusades are spoken of in the annals of chivalry. Yet let us analyse the history of these wars, and we shall find them as unjust in their origin, as they were atrocious in their progress. The collection of the force necessary to the ambitious views of the Church nearly destroyed the social comfort of all Europe; and there is not in the history of the world any period or event so disgraced by such examples of vice and profligacy as characterised the assembly of that army, whose professed object was the diffusion of the Christian religion, and the extension of the glories of chivalry. The aggrandisement of temporal power was the object of the leaders, and the exertion of their prowess that of the inferior knights. And how were these objects to be attained? Look at the annals of these cruel and bloody contests, and not all the instances of bravery which they may record can obliterate the indelible disgrace entailed upon these times by the cruelties with which they are accompanied;

nor all the blazonry and glare of chivalry blot from the memory the injustice, profligacy, and oppression by which they were characterised. Their result also was as disastrous to Europe as it was destructive in the east: for these expeditions sent back ruined nobles and knights and profligate retainers, so long used to live upon plunder, that they could only exist, on their return, by oppressing the people, which unfortunately their knowledge of war gave them the power to do with success. Such was the effect of the influence of the Church, and such the results of the attempt of chivalry *to spread the Christian religion*.

The Church, however, was not the only power who saw the uses to which the institutes of chivalry might be turned. Kings also availed themselves of the service of the knights, and by usurping to themselves the power of conferring privileges and the establishment of different orders of knighthood, soon converted an institution, the origin of which was intended for the benefit of the people, into the means of the aggrandisement of their rulers.

Under these influences chivalry soon became an institution of the few to impose slavery on the many, and engendered a military aristocracy, for whom it became ultimately necessary to find military employment, as

well as sumptuous entertainment, at the expense of the blood and labours of the people. Thus did it in time degenerate into an oppressive tax, instead of the means of relief; and there are few annals so disgraced with scenes of blood and cruelty as those of chivalry in the middle and later times of its existence.

At its first institution, a name without reproach, and honour unimpeached, were as essential to knighthood as valour; but in a very early stage of its progress bravery became the only essential requisite, and even this was frequently dispensed with, where rank and wealth had sufficient influence to procure the honours which knighthood conferred. This, however, was very seldom the case; for in the state of society at that period, personal valour was so essential to the preservation of a man's station in society, and became so integral a part of that education which considered strength of body as of far more consequence than any mental endowment, that there were few who deserved the appellation of 'craven.'

By all the advocates of chivalry, and almost every author who has written on the subject and advocated its principle and influence, it has been stated to have been a wise institution, and to have had a great tendency to the civilization and refinement of mankind. To doubt this is, in fact, almost a treason against an

opinion so generally received ; and to say that there were more childishness and cruelty than real manhood and humanity contained in the influences of which chivalry was the occasion, and that society in general was held in greater thralldom instead of being emancipated by its institution, may, at first, appear startling. But let us look at chivalry in its progress—let us look at the requisites to form a true knight—at the ordeal he was to undergo—at the laws instituted for the preservation of his privileges—and at the unjust engagements into which he was compelled to enter.

The very first duty of a knight was a long journey into foreign countries, for the professed purpose of redressing the wrongs, but with the sole intention of seeking adventures, of whatever nature, in which he might exert his strength and prowess—in other words, to seek objects in which he might exhibit that physical force and courage, which is the attribute of the brute, and which constituted the principal excellence of a knight. And for every exhibition of this kind, however unjust, if he came off victorious, his knight-hood was his apology : for the elegant historian of chivalry, before quoted, says, that ‘ it cannot be doubted that this practice of wandering armed through Europe gave great scope to licentiousness in those

who were naturally ill-disposed ; and many a cruelty, and many a crime was assuredly committed by that very order instituted to put down vice, and to protect innocence *.'

To guard against this, it is stated, that the laws of chivalry were most severe ; but where was the use of these laws, when the whole institution of chivalry supported its own rights ; and when every knight was, by the very fact of his chivalry, the judge of all his equals and inferiors, and generally, the executor of his own desires ? It may indeed be said, that it would require 'a different nature from humanity to secure such a jurisdiction from frequent perversion.' But where was the wisdom, where was the justice of an institution, conferring privileges and powers to the executor, of which the frailty of humanity rendered the possessors inadequate ? The weakness of human nature is such, that the only means by which justice is preserved, is by the distribution, and not by the concentration of the powers which are necessary to its preservation. To give this power into the hands of individuals has ever been found to engender despotism and oppression ; and the very essence of chivalry was to make each of its members not only the

* James.

judge of his own acts, but of all those which came within his influence. Even that knight who committed no act of oppression in his search after adventures, only went about like a prize-fighter, for the purpose of jousting with other knights, and exhibiting his personal prowess like a gladiator of ancient days, with no other excitement than that of the plaudits of the spectators. With a custom so open to lawless excess as this quest of adventures, chivalry could scarcely be imagined to add much to the good order of society.

Now let us look a little into the tendency of this institution to civilize the barbarous customs of the times in which it was established.

What were those tournaments, of which so much has been said and written, and with the very name of which are still associated false ideas of bravery and honour? Scarcely better, except from the panoply with which they were accompanied, than a modern prize fight; and scarcely less cruel than those gladiatorial exhibitions of the ancients, which are cited as instances of barbarity. These festivals, for festivals they were deemed, seldom terminated without fatal results; and even those that passed by without the absolute death of any of the champions, left, nevertheless, many to

drag out a maimed and miserable existence, or to die after a long and weary sickness.

Ducange gives a long list of lives lost in the tournament, while the 'combat à outrance' was a still more savage instance of the barbarity of the times, and of the tendency of this celebrated institution.

'Though mortal, the combat à outrance ordinarily took place between persons who most frequently did not know each other, or at least had no particular misunderstanding, but who sought alone to shew forth their courage, generosity, and skill in arms.' Courage! generosity! What a perversion of terms! Two men unknown to each other, without any offence or reason of enmity, meet in mortal combat, and separate not till the life of one of them is sacrificed, or rendered no longer desirable by the wounds he has received, or by the disgrace which has been entailed upon him by his defeat.

In the 'pas d'armes,' or passage of arms, another factitious apology for fighting, a certain number of knights fixed their shields and tents in a particular pass, or spot of ground, which they declared their intention to defend to the death against all comers. In such a fight as this, there was in a knight about as much right and reason, as in the Irish peasant at

Donnybrook, when he throws down his jacket, and flourishing his shillelah, cries, "Who dare put their foot upon that now?" or throwing his hat up in the air, exclaims, "Who dare say Paise?" and then does his best to break the head of any person who ventures to offend in either of these particulars.

At all these fights, a number of ladies were always present, who witnessed these scenes of blood, not only without shuddering at the danger, but absolutely with delight and enthusiasm. Something of the savage barbarity of these encounters may be imagined, when among other cries by which the heralds encouraged the combatants, were "The love of ladies!" "Death to the horses!" "Glory to be won by blood and sweat!" So enthusiastic were the ladies at some of these tournaments, that they would strip themselves of their ornaments, and sometimes even of their wimples and hoods *, to send as encouraging gifts to their knights,

* "At the close of the tournament," says the writer of the romance of Pine Forest, "the ladies were so stripped of their ornaments, that the greater part of them were bareheaded. Thus they went their ways, with their hair floating on their shoulders, more glossy than fine gold; and with their robes without their sleeves, for they had given to the knights, to decorate themselves, wimples and hoods, mantles and shifts, sleeves and bodies. When they found themselves undressed to such a pitch, they were at first quite ashamed; but as soon as they

while engaged in the combat. The very peril of the sport seemed to give it in their eyes an all-powerful interest, which can be conceived only, as Mr. James says, "by our feelings at some great and thrilling tragedy." But in the midst of all our sensations at a tragedy, and however greatly they may be excited, we have still the knowledge that even the deepest scenes of horror which we are witnessing are fictitious; and it is this secret, though almost unacknowledged feeling, that renders our sympathy with the stage capable of conferring that pleasure at the exhibition of horror which is so unaccountable in our natures. But in these tournaments everything was real. The bleeding horse, the gasping knight, the shout of triumph, and the cry of death, were no fictions; the victims were not to rise again, and play on the same scene a second time, but were frequently disabled for life, or wounded to death. In spite of this, mirth and festivity, song, music, and dance closed the day of the tournament, and the night was spent in feast and revelry.

saw every body in the same state, they began to laugh at the whole adventure; for they had all bestowed their jewels and their clothes upon the knights with so good a will, that they had not perceived that they had uncovered themselves."—*James's History of Chivalry.*

Were such scenes as these likely to tend to the civilization of society? When death and blood were made the results of mere sport, was it likely that human nature would become ameliorated? and women too, the beings to whom we look for all the tenderness of our nature, were present at, and patronesses of these scenes of blood! What must have been the effect of such scenes on the female mind? Why, the very fountains in which the softest tendencies of human nature are engendered, were poisoned at their source. Was this likely to tend to the increase of civilization? The great influence of women on society has always been felt and acknowledged; and what must have been the influence of those who could witness the wounds and contests of their sons, brothers, and husbands, without shuddering? What must have been the tendency of the first principles instilled by such mothers into the minds of their sons?—what the nature of that affection which measured the return by the dangers which a lover would voluntarily undertake, and which were pointed out to him as the means by which his wishes were to be accomplished?

Much has been said of the gallantry of chivalry, because the love of ladies was a part of the knightly

principle. But this was made the mere pretence for his feats of prowess ; and where could there exist any legitimate, any wholesome feeling of this nature, when it was inculcated, that if a knight did not love in reality, he was to *feign* the passion for some lady whom he was to select as his mistress ?

Here was a cultivation of false feeling calculated to deteriorate all the better sentiments of the heart, and to weaken one of its most glorious sympathies. Besides, that can scarcely be called gallantry which upheld the beauty of one woman at the expense of all the rest of her sex.

None can be greater advocates of the sex than ourselves ; none more ready to acknowledge the benefit of their influence from the first period of their taking their proper station in society. But we much doubt, whether these would be our sentiments, did we see this influence exerted by the promotion of bloodshed, or by their directing their power to dangerous encounters. The system of chivalry took women out of their proper sphere. The domestic virtues were forgotten amidst the panoply of public parade, and the excitement of those feats of arms, the necessity for which a woman's influence should be exerted to abate. These continued sights of blood, succeeded as they were by

scenes of festivity and merriment, must of necessity have rendered the hearts of women callous to those fine and softer feelings of their nature which are the true and the best characteristics of the sex. Thus the effects of chivalry upon those by whose influence society is supposed to be so much regulated was decidedly bad. Let us now look for a moment at the honours or insignia of the principal orders of knighthood; and who is there but must acknowledge the folly of that ambition which had for its object the wearing a garter, or displaying the representation of the fleece of a lamb, worn as the insignia of the *toison d'or*?—the one supposed to have been instituted in consequence of the Countess of Salisbury having dropped her garter at a ball; and the other, because Philip the Good, annoyed that his nobles should look with contempt on his illicit love for the wife of a hosier of Bruges, determined to make the article in which the husband dealt the object of their ambition.

But to give any detail of the follies of the institution, would involve us in a regular history of its rise, progress, and decay, which is not the object of these volumes. It was certainly greatly characterized by childishness and cruelty; childishness in the objects which formed the ambition of its members, and

cruelty in their pursuit of them ; nor is it the names of a few such knights as Bayard and others that can redeem the institution from the evils which arose from it. Let those who doubt this, carefully read the History of the Knights Templars alone, and they will find sufficient cause to agree with us in our estimate of chivalry.

It is not, however, the mere follies or even cruelties of the institution that we are inclined to rail against, so much as at its pernicious influence on the progress of liberty. Let the knights have killed each other, and welcome, in their jousts and tournaments, and have found an apology for murder in the pomp, glare, and glitter of chivalry ; but when the power which their superior knowledge of arms gave them over the people was used for their oppression, such an institution became the scourge of mankind. This knowledge of arms was preserved to them by decrees, which prevented the common people from carrying or learning the use of them. The armour which formed the defence of the knight, as well as his arms, were forbidden. The colours that he wore, the form of his habiliments, were prescribed to him, and denied to the use of any beneath him in rank ; thus an invidious distinction was created, and the knighthood looked

upon the people only as the slaves, who, by the sweat of their brow, were to produce the means for the enjoyment and extension of the privileges of the nobles.

The aristocratic class usurped to itself all the power of the land, and the people were treated everywhere with contempt. It seems, however, to be ordered by Providence, that almost all evils should, in some measure, provide their own remedies. Thus the luxuries of the knights and nobles produced the necessity for commerce; commercial relations and associations of necessity enlarged the minds of the people; and the rapid increase of a wealth procured independently of the lords of the soil engendered ideas of a power independent of their oppressors, and of their rights to some of those privileges which had hitherto been only enjoyed by the self-styled superior classes. Commerce producing great and continued intercourse between the people of different countries, the stores of knowledge increased with the accumulation of wealth; corporations began to be formed, privileges were demanded, and, when refused, in many instances were taken; and a class of society arose, which in time were enabled to contend with the nobles for that power and those privileges which they had been accustomed to arrogate to themselves. It is curious,

that during this period of the advancement of the lower, or rather of the middling class of the people, in every kind of knowledge, the nobles remained stationary, still pursuing the same career alone, and trusting their accomplishments to the use of those arms by which they had hitherto contrived to maintain their superiority. Perhaps this circumstance, of difference between an aristocracy and a people, cannot be better explained than it has been in a late work of M. Ancillon, who says that "The nobles look back on the past, and, in looking back on it, they often remain motionless : the other classes look to the future, and march on*."

Among the earliest of those who made repeated attempts to ensure their privileges and liberties, were the merchants of the Low Countries, who, during a period of nearly two centuries, maintained, at different times, various struggles against the nobles and their rulers. The history of these periods teems with the contests of the citizens of Ghent, Bruges, and other cities, against the encroachments and power of the Counts of Flanders and Dukes of Burgundy ; contests characterized and disgraced by cruelties of every sort,

* *Pensées sur l'Homme, ses Rapports, et ses Intérêts*; by Frederick Ancillon.

exercised by both parties against their enemies, but which eventually ended in the extension of the privileges of the citizens.

A great portion of the third volume of this work is devoted to the history of those times, which form a remarkable epoch in the history of Europe, as being the source from which the subsequent freedom of the people was derived, and one of the principal origins of their power. The extent to which the Flemings had carried their commercial pursuits, the peculiar tendency which they possessed towards trade, and the acuteness and success with which their commercial relations were conducted, soon made them a people far more prominent in the history of the times than might be imagined from the small extent of the territory which they occupied.

The nobles, feeling the benefit of these commercial relations, as far as their luxuries were concerned, at first granted the privileges which were merely conducive to the safety of that commerce from which these luxuries were derived. These consisted merely of a free passage through their territory; but as commerce increased, the wealth of those engaged in its pursuit increased also—and wealth has always led to power. A set of men arose superior to the mere lucre of

trade, who began to feel that they were entitled to freedom that they had not hitherto enjoyed, and to privileges which had hitherto been arrogated to themselves by the nobles. These privileges were demanded, and, when refused, fought for. The people enrolled themselves under the standards of their cities, and elected leaders from among their fellow-citizens and equals, and waged a series of wars, with more or less success, against their governors.

The late events in Belgium have given additional interest to the history of these times; and the account of the struggles of the Flemings of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries will be found to be very analogous to that which has just taken place in the same countries; and as far as the abrogation of taxes is concerned, for the same purposes: and, what is to be lamented, the outrages of the present enlightened period, if the accounts of the Belgian revolution be correct, appear scarcely less atrocious than in those uncivilized times of which we are writing. Still, however, the superior knowledge which the nobles possessed of war, and the exclusive use which the laws had given them of certain weapons, as well as their occupation of castles and strongholds, made these struggles extremely unequal. The undisciplined

and unorganized citizens, with their pikes and other unwieldy weapons, were far inferior to the knights and men-at-arms with whom they had to contend. The nobles, armed at all points, and riding war-horses well defended with mail, were much more than a match for the citizens, who fought on foot, defended merely by their doublets of leather: while war also, as a science, was studied only by those who had been educated to arms, which was not, of course, the case with the citizens. This inferiority in the art of war made these struggles the more severe for the people, and tended greatly to prevent their conquering the right for which they contended.

At length, however, the more general use of gun-powder released the people from the tyranny of chivalry, by equalizing the means of fighting; as the invention of printing had liberated them from the thralldom of priestcraft, by increasing the means of intellectual improvement. To the invention of gun-powder and printing, indeed, may mankind trace all the freedom which they have enjoyed.

When artillery came into play, the individual strength or prowess of a knight became of little use in a general engagement. The armour which resisted the blow of a club or a pike was not proof against the

stones or bullets which were thrown by the cannon or the culverin. War assumed a new aspect; the people grew confident in their own strength, and chivalry became useless*.

The people of all countries have made a rapid march in their progress towards freedom. The spirit of association, which is in fact the spirit of strength, pervaded every kingdom; and, as before stated, municipal authorities were now instituted in Italy, France, Flanders, and England. The towns of Flanders were, in particular, ruled by a sort of federative system, founded on their commercial relations. Still acknow-

* "The discovery of gunpowder is attributed to a German monk: the much more ancient description of it by Roger Bacon would seem to give the credit of the invention to England. He says, in his work *De Nullitate Magiæ*, 'In order to imitate thunder and lightning, take some sulphur, nitre, and charcoal, which when separate produce no effect, but when mixed together, discharge themselves, the instant a light comes in contact with them, from any hollow machine in which they may have been shut up, with an explosion which equals the report and flash of thunder.' As early as the year 1200, the Arabs used this mixture in order to shoot stones and balls from tubes. Nevertheless, the first mention made of the employment of this powder in France is in an account of the year 1338, of Barthelmy de Drake, Treasurer at War, in which is registered a payment to Henry de Faumechon, for powder and other things necessary for the cannon employed at the siege of Percy-Guillaune."—*Foreign Quarterly Review*.

ledging their fealty to their counts, they yet became so jealous of their municipal privileges, that in time no feudal banner was permitted to approach their walls without the permission of the citizens. It was in these countries that freedom seemed to assume its most rational form, the exertions which procured it were of a mercantile cast, and their commerce embraced all the known world.

In England and France these municipal rights were too much mixed up with the feudal system to give the name of liberty to the privileges which the people enjoyed. All the military vassals preserved a great authority over the citizens. Municipal privileges partook of the character of fiefs, and existed too much by and under the swords of the barons to give the people their proper power.

In time municipal bodies were gradually formed with the cities. Every trade and every branch of trade incorporated itself, and claimed its peculiar laws, privileges, and magistracy. Glovers, butchers, bakers, fishermen, as well as the rest, had their banners, their sword, and all the paraphernalia of the town or the baron.

In this progress of society the kings soon discovered that these cities were far more adequate to their sup-

plies than the castles of the nobility. The needy noble could contribute nothing but his own sword and the arms of a few retainers ; while the subsidies which the wealthy citizens could raise, could furnish an army and always relieve the wants of their monarch in the way most agreeable to them. This had likewise another tendency, which the kings did not overlook ; it relieved them from the arrogance, insolence, and encroachments of an aristocracy which had hitherto made the kingly power little better than a nominal authority.

Those, however, who have the power to grant supplies or to withhold them at will, are sure, sooner or later, to inquire why they are not to be consulted in the disposition of them ; and this natural question in time led to the great step in the history of modern government and the progress of national freedom, the representation of the people themselves in the councils of their country.

We must not, however, suppose that the burghers were invested with these privileges, or invited to these councils, because their advice was wanted, or with any intention that their judgment should form any guide in the deliberations. It was to induce them the more readily to open their treasuries, to furnish those

supplies without which certain schemes of ambition could not be prosecuted, or the encroachments of some neighbouring power resisted. They were called to the councils of their nation much in the same spirit as that in which a nobleman invites a usurer from whom he wants to borrow money to his table, in the hope that, by this mark of attention, and by thus tickling his self-love with the temporary honour of his society, he may be induced to grant the required loan upon more reasonable terms. An acute French writer observes, that "He must sadly want eyes who does not see that the *Roturier* was never added to the States-General, contrary to the old order of France, for any other reason than that he was sometimes wanted to bear all the principal burdens and charges*." Thus the poor people, though raised considerably higher in the scale, were still destined to bear those burdens entailed upon them by ambitious monarchs and an idle aristocracy.

It is thus seen how much the liberties of Europe were indebted to that spirit of commercial association which prevailed among the middle classes of the people, and which gradually led to the state of manners which we find during the periods of which these

* Pasquier, *Recherches sur la France*.

volumes principally treat. To the same useful class belongs also, if we except some of the discoveries in science of the ecclesiastics, a great portion of that progress in learning and science which was gradually emancipating the human mind from the chains of ignorance. The spirit of travel, the natural consequence of commerce, contributed greatly to enlarge the knowledge of the period; and some of the chroniclers of these early times gave accounts of what they had seen in their travels, such as Roger de Hoveden, Pietro Contini, and Marco Paolo.

The greatest number of chronicles were composed, however, at home; of which a stupendous quantity remained as monuments of monastic patience, but all written with such a confusion of geography and chronology, that very little truth, as far as these two points are concerned, is to be gleaned from them. These chroniclers, indeed, are scarcely to be depended upon for anything but the events which actually passed under their eyes; and even in recording these they differed greatly in their calendar.

During these ages came the great struggle for pre-eminence between the Latin and the vulgar tongue, the latter of which, in spite of the efforts of the universities and the clergy to arrest its progress, began to

make its way into the schools of the time. At first, a curious fusion was made of the two idioms. They became mixed together in the rhymes and verses, and histories of the day; and by a mixed translation of the Gospel upon this plan, the popular tongue began to be propagated.

The chronicles were among the first productions of the national tongue, and no longer being mere and dry enumerations of facts, written in a language which was not that of general communication, but confined to the clergy, they became glowing and picturesque narratives of those events of which the chroniclers were eye-witnesses and contemporaries. The chronicles written in French, are remarkable for that pleasing simplicity which gives the best evidence of their truth, and constitutes their chief value. They are less clerical, and written, as indeed almost all the lay chronicles are, with more of feudal than ecclesiastical prejudices: they recount all that the writers had seen in court and castle, in pilgrimages, and in battle.

Among those who flourished in the earlier times of the propagation of the vulgar tongue, are Joinville and Villehardorier, Rigord, Guillaume-le-Breton, Matthew Paris, Jaques de Vita, Alberic, the monk of Trois

Fontaines, Philip Monsi, and many others, who either gave records of the events which they saw, or wrote traditional histories in "Rimes delectables."

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, there were upwards of one hundred and eighty of these chroniclers, in addition to which there arose also a crowd of minor poets, under the title of "*Gai chanteurs*," *trouvères*, and *troubadours*, who cherished historical as well as imaginary events in their rhymes.

To these may be attributed the remains of chivalry, the description of a new world, and a whole stock of marvellous characters and incidents, which, in spite of the rambling manner in which they are detailed, are found to be uniform, consistent, and striking, in their conduct and result.

Amidst the variety of their invention, the historian will often meet with the correct detail of a fact, and they are frequently useful as illustrations of what may be deemed obscure in the pages of the more "*veridique*" chroniclers.

To this age belong the "*Roman de la Rose*," and the "*Bible Guyot*," the latter of which has been considered a faithful memorial of the manners of the times. Every class of society, kings, counts, barons, clerks, and lawyers, all pass in review before the

author, and the vices of each are lashed with an unsparing hand.

In succeeding times, a set of chroniclers arose, of rather a different order, consisting of those who, from their situation about the persons of monarchs and nobles, were let into the arcana of government, and became concerned in the negotiations and treaties between the different powers. Some of them devoted themselves to the mere history of the actions of their patrons, while others diverged into observations on the politics and nature of the times in which they lived. In these chroniclers may be discovered the seeds of many of the treaties that were then entered into between different princes, and the germ of those treaties which form the prominent feature of historical record; and however blinded some of these writers may have been by the natural partiality which they bore towards their patrons, or however confined might be their views of general events, no historian, or lover of truth, should neglect their attentive perusal. Besides being in general graphic and living pictures of the events they record, they in many instances throw a light upon questions of general interest and importance, which can be gleaned from no other source. The very circumstance of their being only a lively representation

of events as they occurred, with very little mixture of opinion, rendering them very valuable as a record of fact for the historian to draw from and observe upon.

Among the principal chroniclers of this stamp are Froissart and Comines, both possessing good opportunities of seeing the principal events of their times; both mingling largely in the great world of warfare and politics, and both possessing quick and intense discrimination, and power of observation. These two form the principal sources from which the stories in these volumes are collated; but as the chronicles are mere details of individual occurrences, and portraits of particular persons, unmixed with any general account of the times in which they lived, it has here been attempted to illustrate these events by historical notices of the countries in which they occurred, so as to make the chronicles portions of general history, instead of mere individual portraiture. The characters of these chroniclers are essentially different: Froissart delighted in chivalry, and his pages glitter with all the panoply of war; we see the war horse and the mailed knight, and hear the trumpet as it sounds the onset; joust, and tournament, and festival, fill his pages; and we behold his various patrons and friends as they figured before the good and entertaining chroni-

cler's eyes. He paints things as he saw them, and conveys to his reader the impressions they made upon him in such a lively manner, that a perusal of the gossip contained in his volumes almost carries us back to the times in which he lived, and into the very scenes which he describes.

The chronicles of Comines are of a graver cast. By turns the intimate friend and confidential adviser, first of the impetuous Charles the Bold, and afterwards of the wily monarch his rival, he was privy to most of the political intrigues of that interesting epoch, when these two princes were contending for the mastery. There is, therefore, much more of general history in the records of Comines; they are not the mere gossip of the tournament, but exhibit a detail of those important events which form the history of a nation; and these are frequently intermixed with remarks and observations, which being made by an eye-witness of the events, tend greatly to the illustration of the characters he depicts.

Of the good Mr. John Froissart and his times, there is an ample history in this work; Comines' life possessed none of the variety of the worthy canon of Chimay; and the history of France and Burgundy are the history of his times and of his political labours.

Philip de Comines was born of a noble family in Flanders, in the year 1446. The first part of his political career was passed as the intimate friend and adviser of the Comte de Charolais, afterwards Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy. He remained in the service of this impetuous prince for about eight years; but being seduced by his rival, Louis XI., to the court of France, he became the confidential adviser of the great enemy of his former master; and was almost as much in the secrets of this wily monarch as Tristan l'Hermite or Olivier le Diable, so noted as the emissaries of his cruel edicts. With this monarch Comines became a great favorite, and was highly promoted by him, in consequence of the many and successful negotiations in which he was engaged for him. How far his desertion of Charles the Bold can be excused by the impetuosity of that prince, or whether it arose from the view to his own advantage, it is not here our province to enquire*. It is sufficient for his authority

* It appears strange that Comines himself should never, in any of his writings, have attempted to justify himself by any history of his reasons for this change of masters, by which he became the adviser and friend of the declared enemy of his country; and his silence on this subject has given occasion to suspicion, that the motives by which he was actuated were not such as would have justified him in the eye of the world.

as a chronicler, that he was so intimately engaged in the important events he narrates, as to give him the opportunity of seeing the secret springs of those actions which led to them. During the period of the contest between Louis and Charles, Comines was a very useful servant of the former; and it became his task to write the most authentic history of the downfall and death of his early prince and patron.

The principal portion of his memoirs contains the events connected with the reign of Louis the Eleventh, and the two last Dukes of Burgundy, Philip the Good and his son Charles the Bold. He has likewise left memoirs of the principal occurrences in the reign of Charles the Eighth, and Maximilian, Duke of Austria, together with what has been called the "Chronique Scandaleuse." These events are related with every appearance of truth, and are illustrated by a variety of authenticated treaties and negotiations on various matters, which not only show how legitimate were the sources from whence he derived his information, but are also sufficient evidence of the truth of his narrations. Among these, which may be called the documents of his histories, will be found the treaties and leagues connected with the war for the public good (*la guerre du Bien publique*), various proceed-

ings of the Parliament of Paris, the Treaty of Peronne, and the leagues formed at different periods between the Duke of Burgundy and the English Government, as well as between Louis the Eleventh and the Kings of England. The intrigues, likewise, with various princes for the marriage of Mary of Burgundy are also detailed, together with the attempt of Charles to get himself elected King of the Romans by the Emperor. There are likewise justifications of Louis XI. on the subject of the death of the Duke de Guyenne and of John Duke of Burgundy and his Duchess, against the calumnies of the Abbé de Brantome ; together with a variety of other documents tending to illustrate the truth of his memoirs. After the death of Louis, Comines experienced many troubles on account of his being a foreigner, and through the jealousy of the courtiers was thrown into prison, where he languished for a long time before he was discharged,—a melancholy instance of the instability of that greatness which arises from the friendship of a bad man, and of the confidence of a monarch the performance of whose behests must for ever entail the dislike of his contemporaries upon him who is charged with their execution. With the life of his patron the sun of Comines's prosperity was set as far as his actual

power was concerned: but he had made so good a use of the opportunities he had enjoyed, and had been so industrious in collating and copying all the documents which passed through his hands during the confidential position in which he had been placed for so many years, that he had an ample fund of illustration for that history or record of the period in which he lived; and by these means the *Memoirs* of this chronicler has come down to us as the most veracious history of those peculiar times.

From the position in which Comines was placed—first with Charles the Bold and afterwards with Louis XI.—almost every treaty, of any consequence, passed through his hands. Connected as these two monarchs were with nearly the whole of Europe, and latterly possessing an influence in almost every European cabinet, this position opened a fine field for such a man as our chronicler. His intimate knowledge also of the minds and characters of these two rivals, gave him a keener insight into the motives of each of them than could be enjoyed by any man who had been less in their confidence. It was this knowledge that enabled him so well to develop the numerous intrigues of those intriguing times, while the perusal of interested correspondence, and his actual

collision with nearly all the statesmen and warriors of his time, gave him those powers of discriminating the truth and the motives of many circumstances which were incomprehensible to those who were not so much behind the scenes.

These documents thus coming into his possession in his official capacity, and which are published with his histories, give to the *Memoirs of Comines* a superior value to those of any of his contemporaries. They stamp his relations at once with all the events he details and all the characters he portrays, and as having been the confidential servant of the heads of those two factions which at that period involved the principal portion of Europe in their quarrels, his pages derive an interest not inspired by any of his brother chroniclers.

The pages of Froissart may be more glowing with chivalric description; but Froissart was the butterfly only of the court, and was contented with its externals, while Comines, with the industry of the bee, studied the main-spring of diplomatic machinery, and was contented only with the treasures of truth. To him the intricacy of negotiation was more interesting than the splendour of the tournament,—the motives and not the actions were the objects of his research

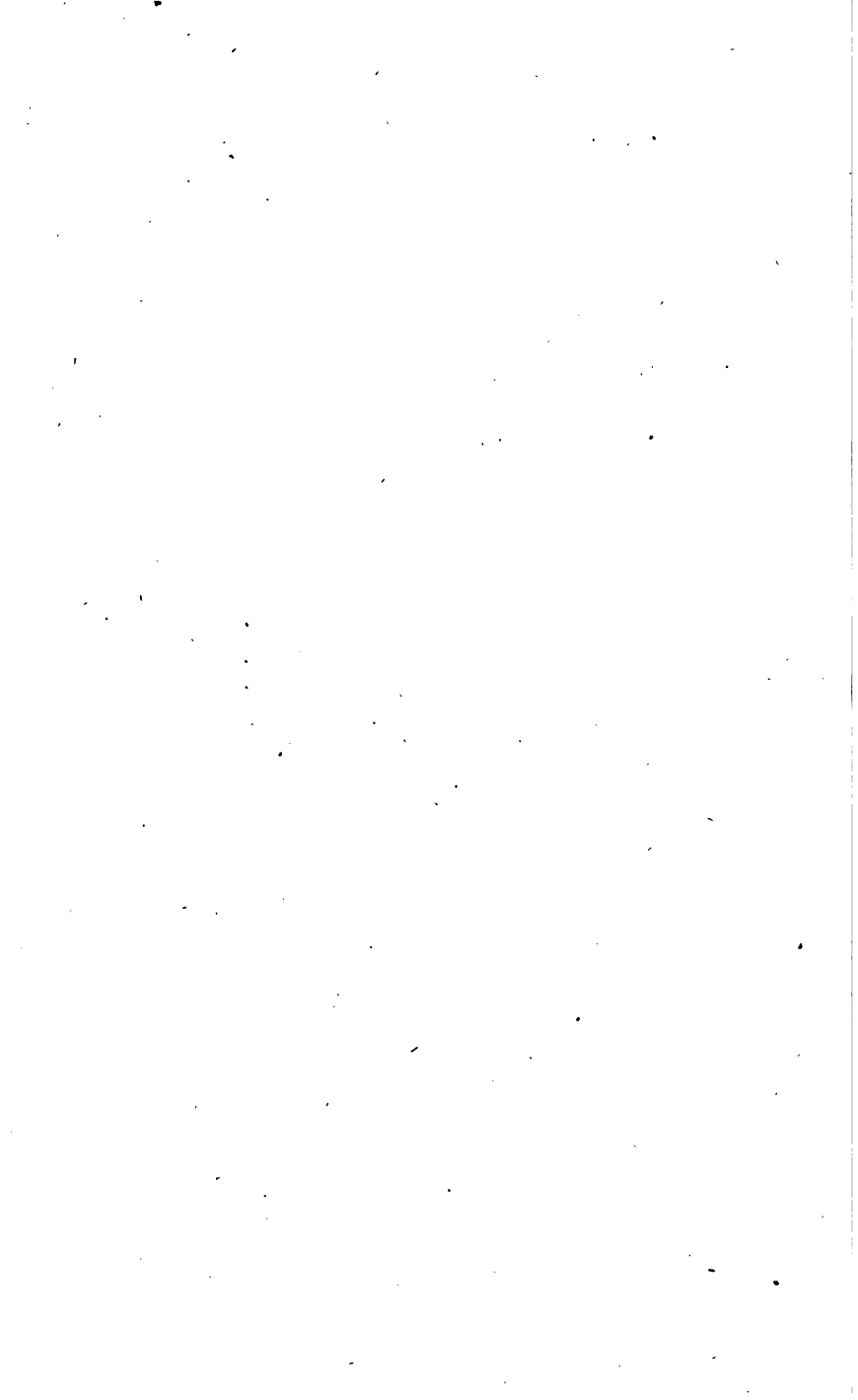
and of his history; and by his peculiar position he was enabled to connect circumstances apparently remote, till he unravelled the whole chain of circumstances which led to events of great consequence to the then situation of Europe, and has contrived to develop them in a manner which excites the confidence of the reader in the veracity of his narration.

All these chronicles are, however, dressed up in such a quaintness of language as renders their perusal difficult and tedious—they are more fit for the black-letter scholar than for the general reader, and there are thus few in comparison with the number of historical readers who open them. It has been the object of this work to give a more popular version of these interesting records, and so to connect them with the other events as to render them general histories of the times of which they treat.

HISTORICAL NOTICE
OF THE
ENGLISH POWER IN ACQUITAINE.

VOL. I.

B



HISTORICAL NOTICE
OF THE
ENGLISH POWER IN ACQUITAINE;
WITH A DIGRESSION ON THE CLAIM OF EDWARD III.
TO THE CROWN OF FRANCE.

[BEING INTRODUCTORY TO THE STORIES OF "THE BATTLE OF POITIERS,"
AND OF "THE BLACK PRINCE IN SPAIN."]

THERE are few subjects, connected with English history, of which the general reader is more apt to lose sight, than the acquisition, the continuance, and the loss, of those possessions in France which became attached to our crown from its being worn by the princes of the lines of Normandy and of Anjou. The matters relating to these provinces are but episodic to the main story of our country;—they were rather foreign dominions of the king than dependencies of the kingdom. From these causes, they appear upon the stage of our history only at distant and unconnected periods, when they chanced in any way to act upon the policy or the fortunes of England;—and, thus, no distinct, consecutive, and unbroken picture remains impressed upon the mind concerning them. I shall, in this place, trace out, of necessity briefly, the history of the English power, in that large and fertile portion of France, included under the name of Acqui-

taine. It will be a fitting introduction to the stories which follow, of the wars under the Black Prince;—to the second, more especially, of the expedition of that great captain into Spain;—an expedition which, though undertaken by an English prince, at the head of an army of which a large proportion was English,—is yet strictly an excrescence from English history. It had, however, the strongest reference to it in its ultimate effects, as the expenses which it occasioned were the immediate cause of the appeal of the Gascon lords to Charles V.,—and thence to the renewal of the war, with such very different success. I shall also take occasion, when I reach that date, to bestow some slight consideration upon the claim of Edward III. to the French crown.

The English power in Aquitaine arose, as is well known, from the marriage of Henry II. with Eleanor, Duchess of Aquitaine, and Countess of Poitou, the repudiated wife of Louis VII. of France. Eleanor had accompanied her first husband into Palestine, during one of the Crusades,—where, as he suspected, she was false to him in favour of a young Saracen. On his return to France, he applied to the church for a divorce; and alleged the above reason in support of his demand. A council of prelates was accordingly held; which, avoiding the discussion of so delicate a question, found a simpler mode of acceding to the king's request. They discovered that Eleanor and her husband were cousins within the prohibited degrees, and they therefore pronounced the marriage null

and void. The lady, accordingly, the marriage-tie being dissolved, set off to return into her own dominions.

In her passage thither, she narrowly escaped marriage by force, two or three different times, from the gallant and loyal barons, through whose territories she passed. She was once imprisoned, and once, by a sudden change of route, escaped abduction; the flaw in her character being thus, as it would seem, overlooked, in consideration of her rich and extensive dower. She resisted, however, this approved method of wooing, (one of the suitors who employed it was Henry's younger brother,) and at last arrived safely at Poitiers, the capital of her minor state.

It was hither that Henry, who had not yet succeeded to the crown of England, came to try his fortune as a lover, and returned with the duchess as his bride into Normandy*. For political, as well as personal, reasons, Louis had opposed this marriage. Henry was already Duke of Normandy; he was the heir-apparent (his father being still alive) to the counties of Anjou and Touraine,—and the countries belonging to Eleanor completed (with the exception of Brittany) the whole of Western France, from the borders of Picardy to the Pyrenees. The possessions of Louis himself were in no degree equal to these. They were less in point of extent, and still more inferior in wealth, commerce, and civilisation. In point of fact, the French king

* A. D. 1152.

possessed, at that time, nothing to the south of the Loire. He had, it is true, a suzerainty over the greater number of the various petty potentates among whom that fine country was divided;—but it was little more than nominal, and frequently resisted and disputed, even to that limited extent. In the present instance, Louis endeavoured to exert, if not to stretch, the rights of a suzerain over a vassal—by commanding Henry not to marry without his consent. But as the practical extent of these rights was usually commensurate with the power of the respective parties, Henry paid no sort of attention to this mandate;—but, having married Eleanor, did homage to the French king for the possessions which he had gained through her.

To the inhabitants of Aquitaine, this change of husbands, on the part of their duchess, was by no means displeasing. It seems to have been the universal line of policy of the petty independencies in the south of France, to endeavour to ally themselves as much as possible with potentates at a distance from their frontier, and to shun connection with those in nearer neighbourhood. They felt that their liberties, even their distinctive existence, were likely to merge in a great neighbouring power, while from a distant ruler they had nothing of this kind to fear; and he, at the same time, would be able to protect them from encroachments on the former part, and would have a personal interest in doing so. Thus, therefore, the Aquitains, —however they might have preferred a chief born among themselves,—received, with pleasure rather than

otherwise, the assumption by Henry of the title and powers of duke, which, according to the customs of the time, his late marriage entitled him to assume.

Not long after this event, Henry became Count of Anjou, by the death of his father; on the condition, however, (to which he swore) of yielding it to his younger brother Geoffrey, as soon as he succeeded to the English crown. This stipulation he never fulfilled; but, exercising the right of the strongest, he retained the inheritance of his brother by force; after whose death, he still further extended his possessions in France, by the acquisition of Brittany. This originated in the pretended right of Henry to the small county of Nantes; which, detaching itself from Celtic Brittany, of which it had been only a forced appendage, had called Geoffrey of Anjou, the dispossessed brother, to be their Count. As the inheritance of this very brother, did Henry claim Nantes and its territory;—and by getting his foot into this stirrup, did he ultimately ride supreme over Brittany altogether.

Thus did he become possessed of the whole western coast of France, south of Picardy; and this was the zenith of the English power on the continent previously to the time of Henry V.

But, though the inhabitants of Aquitaine preferred the alliance of the English to that of the French king, they still looked back with regret to the times when they were governed by one of their own nation, chosen

by themselves—to the times, in a word, of their national independence. To regain this they made several struggles; especially, they took advantage of the dissension between Henry II. and his sons, to further this purpose. The county of Poitou, which had been a part of Eleanor's dowry, as well as Aquitaine, had already been given to Prince Richard, and the Aquitains more than once placed him at their head in their revolts against his father. Into the details of these revolts it is not my purpose here to enter; they were so frequent, their leaders changed sides to, fro, and again, so repeatedly, that the narrative of these wars becomes both intricate and wearisome. They possess not unity either of principle or motives—no natural chain of events; and the repeated and barefaced treacheries and perjuries would be ludicrous, if they were not disgusting. Henry, however, had, very early in the course of these contests, the advantage of depriving the Aquitains of a *national* leader, round whom to gather, whom they had at first found in the person of his wife. She fell into his hands at the commencement of the troubles of his family, and he retained her in confinement in England during the remainder of his life.

One more circumstance it may be right to touch upon, concerning these disturbances in the continental possessions of Henry II. They prevented his disagreements with his sons being so purely family quarrels, as they commonly appear to English historical readers to be. National interests became in-

volved in them, which, though repeatedly betrayed and abandoned by those to whom they had been confided, still prevented the dissensions between Henry and his sons becoming merely personal *.

The knights and barons of Aquitaine, indeed, strove to foment these animosities, in which the French king continually took part, for the purpose of which I have spoken above. The leading maxim of their policy was, that war between the two kings was the best state of affairs for them, and this they always endeavoured to bring about by every means within their reach. Active, ardent, clever, and indefatigable, they never rested from the pursuit of their object. One of the most celebrated names of the age, Bertrand de Born, exerted all his talents and energies to this end, with a pertinacity and activity singularly restless and unceasing. By his genius for diplomacy and literature he excited wars, which his military talents and courage furthered and supported. Literature and diplomacy were, indeed, in those days, and

* The English Chroniclers, however, from not seeing or understanding these extraneous causes, always treat of these quarrels as entirely domestic, and, according to their custom, account for them supernaturally. They describe them as a curse fated to rest upon the line of Plantagenet. A great-grandfather of Henry II., they say, married the devil, in the shape of a noble lady, and, as Richard used to add in telling the story, "What comes from the devil must go to the devil again." He considered his family being always at daggers-drawing as their peculiar inheritance. "What! would you rob me of my birthright?" he asked one who wished to reconcile him to his father; "it is the birthright of our race to be at variance!"

in that country, conjoined in a very curious and effective manner. *Sirventes** were, among those who cultivated the *Langue d'Oc*, (then spoken over more than half of the countries comprised in modern France,) seriously employed in the furtherance of diplomatic objects; and it would appear that no other means of excitation were so efficacious. The *sirventes* of Bertrand de Born, alternately biting and sarcastic, and laudatory and exhorting, had a very material and demonstrable influence on the affairs of his country, during the reigns of Henry II. and Richard I. on the one side, and of Louis VII. and Philip Augustus on the other. Nay, even sovereigns did not disdain to employ these compositions on affairs of state. Richard I. and the Dauphin of Auvergne mutually accused each other of mutual breach of faith in *sirventes* composed by themselves. It was only at a subsequent period, when, in the middle of the fourteenth century, an abortive attempt to revive the poetry and language of the Troubadours was made by the institution of the floral games at Thoulouse,—it was only then that poetry received the lighter title of “*la gaie science*,” (*lo gay saber*). It was at this time employed, as I have shown, in the gravest and most important subjects.

The repeated revolts, however, which took place in Aquitaine, during the latter part of the reign of Henry II., did not take it from under subjection to

* All poetry not of love was thus denominated, as being of an inferior order to what was written on that commanding theme.

the English crown. On the contrary, it was destined to remain attached to our kings, after their old inheritance of Normandy was wrested from them, and incorporated with France.

The immediate cause of this loss was the death of Arthur of Brittany. When Richard I. was killed in Limousin, John was at once recognised as king of England, and as duke of Normandy and Aquitaine. The law of primogeniture had not, at that period, by any means acquired the force and the consistency which afterwards accrued to it; and in this, as in some other instances in early history, the claims of the nearer in blood, though not in succession, seem scarcely to have been questioned. To Brittany, however, Arthur had succeeded quite in infancy; and on the death of his uncle Richard, Anjou, Touraine, and Maine attached themselves to him, in preference to remaining under the Norman yoke. Aquitaine, however, went, with Normandy and England, to John. The same causes which had disinclined Anjou, Touraine, &c., from the English connection, had operated to retain Aquitaine,—the desire, namely, of national government. After the death of Henry II., Eleanor had been released from confinement, and had, during the reign of Richard, given to the Aquitains at least some semblance of being ruled by one of themselves.

Arthur was, for some time, alternately protected and betrayed by Philip Augustus, according to the fluctuations of the political interests of the period. At last, when in the hands of his uncle John, he died in

a sudden and mysterious manner. Whether he met his death by natural disease, by an accident in endeavouring to escape, or by foul means through the instrumentality of John, it is, I think, at this distance of time, impossible to determine. It is certain, however, that the king of England was loudly accused of the murder, especially by the Bretons, whose national partiality for Arthur almost amounted to a superstitious feeling. Philip, always eager to lower the Norman power in France, cited John to appear before the peers of France at Paris, as his vassal for Normandy, to answer the accusations charged against him with respect to Arthur. John, as had been anticipated, did not appear, and all his possessions in France were declared forfeit to the suzerain, in consequence of his default. Philip proceeded to enforce this forfeiture, by marching an army into Normandy; and never was the pusillanimity of spirit with which John is reproached by English historians more manifested than on this occasion. He made no sort of resistance to the progress of the French arms; nay, did not even afford succour to the towns which made a brave defence on his behalf, and which sent to entreat it from him.

Thus did the English kings cease to be dukes of Normandy. The latter province, in despite of the many points of collision which existed between it and France, properly so called, became amalgamated with it in a period singularly short. Before half a century had elapsed, the feelings of the Normans were completely

identified with those of the French, and became entirely sundered and foreign from their ancient brethren on the other side of the channel.

But Aquitaine still remained. Poitou, indeed, passed under the power of the French king; but further it did not extend. One of the most important of the many errors which arise, in reading the history of early times, from giving modern significations to words, is with reference to the kingdom of France. Even at the period of which I am treating, the beginning of the 13th century, it was only slowly, and by degrees, extending itself to the south of the Loire. When Philip Augustus embarked for Palestine, France, strictly so called, did not possess a single port on the Mediterranean; nay, it did not reach to within many leagues of it. By the death of Arthur and the forfeiture of John, Poitou was now added to Philip's dominions; and as they thus adjoined Aquitaine, the people of the latter country, true to the principle I have more than once alluded to, adhered the more closely to England, in consequence of the nearer neighbourhood of France.

During the reign of Henry III., there seems to have been but slight variation in the state of Aquitaine. It is, however, a circumstance worthy of remark, that the first ill-blood between that prince and Simon de Montfort, which produced consequences of such vast importance, arose on the subject of Gascony. Some of the barons of that province having rebelled against the king of England, he sent De Montfort thither, to

reduce them to obedience. This he accomplished with great rapidity of success; but his subsequent government was so oppressive and cruel, that the Gascons sent commissioners into England to sustain accusations against him. On the trial which ensued, when De Montfort's influence with the barons caused him to be acquitted, occurred that open quarrel, accompanied with most violent and abusive language on both sides, which was never sincerely made up.

When De Montfort was removed from his government in Gascony, the barons again revolted, and invited the king of Castille to take possession of their country,—who had some obsolete claim to it, grounded on an alleged grant from Henry II. In concert with the revolted barons, he made himself master of several strong places; and was proceeding in his career of success, when he was checked and overcome by a powerful expedition which Henry III. brought from England. The latter prince recovered, in a short time, all that had been lost; and compelled the king of Castille formally to renounce all claim to Gascony. The peace was cemented by a marriage between Prince Edward and Eleanor of Castille—a marriage which subsequently proved of such happy fortunes.

The affairs of Aquitaine seem to have gone on very peaceably from this time* till, in the middle of the subsequent reign, when Edward I. was immersed in his Scottish projects, Philip the Bold took advantage

* A.D. 1253-4.

of a quarrel between the crews of a French and an English vessel, near Bayonne, to prosecute the ambitious views which the kings of France had long had upon Aquitaine. He accordingly sent a citation to Edward to appear before him at Paris, as his vassal for the duchy of Aquitaine, to answer for the outrages committed by his Gascon subjects. With this Edward did not choose to comply; but he sent his brother Edmund, Earl of Lancaster, to Paris, to negotiate on the subject. Philip, however, who was exceedingly irritated, would listen to no reasonable terms; and the Earl had already set off on his return to England, when the two queens (consort and mother) interposed, and, through their active mediation, finally accomplished a pacification.

This business was one of the few in which Edward I. was foiled. He was, indeed, completely overreached, by a piece of bad faith on the part of the French king, quite as flagrant as any of those for which his own father had been so notorious. Philip alleging that he had real cause of grievance against the Gascons, for their conduct towards his subjects,—it was agreed that, to save the point of honour, the duchy should be yielded up into his hands; in consideration of which it should be immediately restored. As soon, however, as the French king had obtained possession, all restoration was flatly refused; and a war, in consequence, ensued, with various fluctuations of success,—which was concluded by the matters in dispute being referred to the arbitration of the Pope.

The Pope ultimately decreed, [A.D. 1299,] “ I. That King Edward, being then a widower, should marry the French king’s* sister Margaret. II. That Prince Edward, the king’s eldest son, should, at a convenient time, marry the lady Isabel, the French king’s daughter; and, III. That the king of England should make reparation for the French ships taken at the beginning of the war, and that sundry towns in Gascony should be put into the Pope’s hands, that it might be understood unto whom the right appertained.”

But this last article remained little better than a dead letter—the French king refusing to give up the towns which he held, and Edward, consequently, not paying compensation for the ships. About two years afterwards, however, the French king and the Pope quarrelling, the former feared that the pontiff would excite Edward to make war upon him, on account of the retention of Gascony, and he accordingly yielded it up at once into his hands. The town of Bordeaux had, shortly before, driven out the French; and now, of their own accord, returned under the government of the English, to whom, at all times, they showed particular attachment.

In the reign of Edward II., another somewhat similar attempt was made to deprive England of her sway in Aquitaine, arising, like the former, from the anomalous claims of suzerainty over an independent monarch. Upon the refusal of Edward, grounded

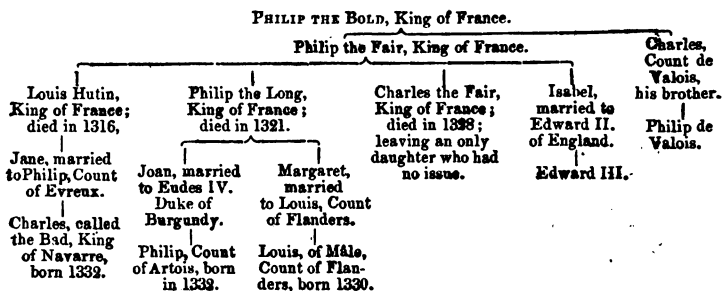
* Philip le Bel had, in the mean time, succeeded to his father.

upon some irregularity of the summons, the French King sent a considerable army into the south, which took possession of the Agenois, and threatened the whole Duchy of Aquitaine. After considerable negotiations, the queen was sent over to her brother, to endeavour to bring matters to an amicable issue; and it was ultimately agreed that the king of England should cede his continental dominions, consisting of the duchy of Aquitaine and the county of Ponthieu, to his eldest son, who should do homage for them to the French king; but that if the young prince died before his father, these territories should then revert to him.

Thus Edward III. became possessed of these French dominions before he succeeded to the throne of England. The great contest that ensued for the succession to the French crown, gave an entirely new complexion to the nature of the king's dominions on the continent: and, in this place, they come very prominently forward upon the surface of our national history. The main interest, indeed, of that history lies, with a few intervening exceptions, in its foreign wars, for upwards of a century from this period. For, it is not until the ultimate expulsion of the English, in the reign of Henry VI., that the curtain can be considered as having finally fallen upon the great drama begun at the accession of Philip de Valois. The fortunes of Aquitaine were so particularly intertwined with the chain of these events, that I do not think it impertinent to introduce here a brief

DIGRESSION ON THE CLAIM OF EDWARD III. TO THE CROWN OF FRANCE.

In order distinctly to lay before the reader the order of descent from which this claim arose, I subjoin a table which will, I think, make it more clear than any verbal detail :—



Edward III. at first grounded his claim upon his being the male *nearest in blood* to the last king, who was capable of succeeding—he being his nephew, and Philip de Valois his cousin-german. According to the phraseology in which the dispute was conducted, he claimed not by right of *representation* (i. e. as representing his mother) but by right of *proximity*. The objections to this confused mode of argument appear to me to be unanswerable. Edward's right was derived *through his mother*; his claim, therefore, in fact, rested on his being grandson to Philip the Fair (father of the three last kings,) and consequently his heir in preference to his nephew. The first objection set up

against this was the celebrated *Salic Law*—which excluded females from succession to the crown of France. It being evident, however, that if the right of female succession were established, the daughters of any of the three last kings would have a claim preferable to his own, Edward admitted the authenticity of the *Salic Law*, as far as it regarded the exclusion of females themselves; but he alleged that this was on account of “the natural imbecility of their sex,” and did not apply to their heirs, though it did to themselves. To this was opposed the almost universal usage of feudal inheritance; and the doctrine that no person could transmit a right which was not vested in himself. The extreme confusion that would arise from such a preposterous principle of succession is demonstrated by the circumstances of the present case. According to this doctrine, Edward would have succeeded to the French crown in 1328, on the death of Charles the Fair; but he would have been superseded by Louis of Mâle, who was born in 1330, of Margaret, second daughter of Charles,—who again must have given place to his cousin Philip, Count of Artois, the son of Charles’s eldest daughter—who, in the very year of his birth, must have yielded to Charles of Navarre, the grandson through a female of Louis Hutin, the last king who had inherited through a direct male line! A reference to the foregoing table will set this before the reader at a glance. Recent circumstances, also, had served to give peculiar force to the *Salic Law*. From Hugh Capet to Louis Hutin,

the crown had descended from father to son through eleven generations. At his death, his queen was left pregnant; and his brother was appointed to the régency, in order to await the birth of the infant, that its sex might be ascertained. The Queen produced a boy: but he died at the expiration of a few days; and Philip the Long was then declared king. In the interim (17th July, 1316) a council, at which all the princes of the blood and the great barons assisted, determined that, if the queen bore a female, the crown of France descended of right to Philip the Long; but that that of Navarre would belong to Jane, daughter of Louis Hutin, as females were not excluded from that crown.

Notwithstanding this, on the death of the infant son of the queen, the Duke of Burgundy, who was maternal uncle to Jane, protested against Philip being crowned, until his niece's claims had been investigated—although he had himself coincided in the decision of the council. Philip the Long, however, to set the question for ever at rest, convoked an assembly of all the great nobles of the state, including the bishops, and the University of Paris. This was held on the 2nd of February, 1317; when it was unanimously decided, “That the laws and the customs inviolably observed among the French, excluded females from the crown.” To this decision the Duke of Burgundy and the Count de la Marche, (afterwards king, as Charles IV. or Le Bel,) who had joined in his former remonstrance subscribed.

Philip the Long also died without male issue ; and his brother, Charles the Fair, succeeded without opposition. He also died, leaving only a daughter, and his widow pregnant. It was now that the claim of Edward III. was first brought forward. For, as it was intended to appoint to the regency the prince who would succeed in the event of the queen bearing a daughter, Edward asserted that that person was himself. He sent, in consequence, ambassadors to Paris, who pleaded his cause before the peers of France, in a solemn hearing of the cause, when the regency was conferred upon Philip de Valois. The queen was delivered of a daughter—and Philip then succeeded to the crown.

Some months after this accession, Edward did homage to Philip as King of France, for his Duchy of Aquitaine—thereby acknowledging the right of that prince. He was, at that time, engaged in wars with Scotland, and was also very young, and but recently seated on the throne. When, therefore, he assumed the title of King of France, in 1339, he pleaded these circumstances as having enforced his previous submission. We will admit for a moment the excuse of present *necessity* (the excuse of all others to be admitted with the most jealousy) for this acknowledgment,—and still upon his own shewing, and indeed upon each and every view of the question, the right of Edward was utterly null and futile. Admitting the Salic law fully, Philip was the rightful heir ; denying it fully, Jane, the daughter of Louis Hutin—and the two last

kings had been usurpers;—admitting it partially, (to the exclusion, namely, of females, but not of their male heirs) Charles of Navarre,—who, at that time, was seven years old. As for the jargon of *proximity*, without tracing whence that proximity arose, it is a principle too extravagant even to be discussed; and, indeed, the case was really argued on the ground of females transmitting their rights, as before stated. Surely, therefore, it is clear that there never was a claim less founded than that of Edward III. to the crown of France.

Wholly untenable, however, as it was,—perhaps no other recorded in history ever occasioned such long and such bloody wars.

Of the earlier portion of this period of history we are highly and deservedly proud,—and concerning it French writers, even to the present time, are sore and tetchy. We are accustomed to speak of these glories and successes with great detail, and in a tone of unmixed triumphant panegyric;—and we are equally given to reproach the French with their endeavours to argue down the merit and extent of those victories and conquests. But while we do this, we unconsciously fall into the opposite extreme, to a degree of which we ourselves, probably, are little aware. Every child, as soon as it can lisp, is taught stories of the Black Prince,—and of the battles of Crecy and of Poitiers. But it is, I take it, at a much later period of historical study that we are made acquainted with the speed, suddenness, and almost uninterrupted

course of the reverses by which those successes were followed, and their effects lost. The military genius of Edward III. and of his son was great and signal ;— and it is equally unworthy of the dignity of the French, as French, and inconsistent with truth,—for them to represent their ancestors as being conquered, and half their kingdom converted into a foreign province, by the skill, courage, and conduct of two princes, whom they would fain picture as possessing only the ruffianly courage of bandits, and the miserable and sneaking craft of a couple of pettifogging scriveners. It is in this tone that several of their writers affect to speak of the two Edwards. Nay, to the father, some of them deny even the very common (in those ages almost universal) merit of physical courage.

An ingenious writer* (whose curious labours afford considerable information with respect to that period) endeavours to insinuate that Edward III. was more careful of his person than he ought to have been, both at the siege of Calais, and at Crecy. The latter extraordinary assertion he rests on the well-known fact, that the King was not personally in action, but remained within distance to direct the operations of the field, at the head of the reserve ;— and that the troops ‘joined battle,’ as the phrase was, under the personal command and leading of his son. In the early part of the day, the Prince’s line was hard-pressed, and those about him sent for succour

* M. de St. Foix.—*Essais Historiques sur Paris.*

to the King. In the mean time, the second line moved forward to the Prince's assistance. The King, "who was on a little windmill hill," as Froissart expresses it, gave an answer equally characteristic of what, in modern times, is called "conduct," as well as magnanimity. The messenger said, "Sir, the Earl of Warwick, the Earl of Oxford, Sir Reynald Cobham, and other such as be about the Prince your son, are fiercely fought withal, and are sore handled; wherefore they desire that you and your battle will come and join them. For if the Frenchmen increase, as they doubt they will, your son and they shall have much ado." Then the King said, "Is my son dead, or hurt, or on the earth felled?" "No, Sir," quoth the knight, "but he is hardly matched; therefore he hath need of your aid." "Well," said the King, "return to him and to them who sent you hither, and say to them that they send no more to me, for any adventure that falleth, as long as my son is alive. And also say to them, that they suffer him this day to win his spurs; for, if God be pleased, I will this journée be his, and the honour thereof, and to them that be about him." The result is well known;—and this, which all our writers cite to the King's honour,—M. de St. Foix wishes to warp into a mark of over-caution for his personal safety. Now, there probably never was an engagement in which a reserve was more needed, if subsequent discomfiture had ensued. For the French were far the more numerous, and were animated by very strong feelings of

animosity against their enemy. M. de St. Foix says, 'l'armée qui combattit à Crécy, rassemblée à la hâte, était nombreuse en hommes, et faible en soldats.— Nous avions à notre tête trois rois, beaucoup de princes, et de seigneurs,—et pas un général.' This is most true—and for that reason we should the less impute blame to Edward for acting the part of a skilful general instead of that of a dashing soldier of fortune. If his rival Philip had followed his example more, the result of their contest might have been very different. But he was exactly a brave and daring soldier, without any of those high mental qualities which give additional dignity and moral value to physical contempt of, or insensibility to, danger. Now Edward united both in a degree probably unknown since the days of his renowned grandfather. When he did err, however, it was on the side of too great exposure of his person; as his romantic combat with Sir Eustace de Ribeaumont sufficiently proves.*

The sneer at Edward III., with respect to Calais, is for not giving up all the advantages of his entrenchments, made with a skill little common indeed in those days, to go forth beyond them to fight in single combat with Philip,—or with a given number of knights on each side! The military merit of the lines before Calais may be estimated, by the circumstance of Philip, after vainly attempting to draw Edward from his position, and equally failing in his

* See Note [5] to the following story.

endeavours to negotiate,—withdrawing from before them, and disbanding his army in despair ! This assuredly, shews a lack of military skill and mental courage, almost sufficient to account for the extraordinary losses of his reign. To all his challenges and embassies, Edward's answer was invariable ; it might also be termed 'one and indivisible,' as the French afterwards, somewhat enigmatically, styled their republic. But let M. de St. Foix speak for himself :—he says, “ On examina de tous côtés les retranchemens d'Edouard ; ils étaient inattaquables. C'est alors que Philippe lui envoya différens cartels ; son unique réponse fut toujours, *qu'il était là pour prendre Calais, et non pour se battre.*” He adds—“ Philippe décampa au bout de six semaines, voyant qu'il ne pouvait attirer son ennemi à aucune sorte de combats, et qu'il étoit absolument impossible de le forcer dans ses lignes. Les assiégés, n'ayant plus aucune espérance, demandèrent à capituler.” He then proceeds to comment, with far more deserved and successful severity, against the cruelty manifested by the King at that celebrated surrender :—the chief blot upon his character as a man, and which would, if ultimately carried into effect, have been a deep one indeed upon our annals.* But, in this case, as in so many others,

* It has been doubted, however, whether Edward, in point of fact, meant to have the citizens of Calais executed. Froissart, from whom the story is copied by subsequent historians, is not implicitly to be trusted on points which tend to heighten the effect of his narrative. He always prefers the most romantic

the soft and merciful spirit of Woman interposed to mitigate and arrest the stern severity of masculine passion,—and, in the person, too, of one who had so recently displayed the resolution and firmness, I might almost say the courage, which in men are so often united with mercy,—though they are seldom, perhaps, joined to the gentleness of the female nature. With her, courage is apt to degenerate into ferocity, and, on the other hand, timidity into weakness and fear. But in this case, the wife's feminine feeling softened the rigorous cruelty of the husband—the Queen's pleading for Mercy caused the King not to forget Justice.

I have not commented upon the absurd degree into which M. de St. Foix has pushed national prejudices in the passage I have last quoted. It is quite needless, I am sure, to point out the relative figure which is made by the object of his partiality and that of his censure. According to his own shewing, it was only after the strength of Edward's entrenchments was found to

version of a story; and to that taste several writers have attributed the colours given to this event. Moreover, the tale, as he tells it, is to the praise of his peculiar patroness, Philippa of Hainault. The having the feet and head bare, and a rope round the neck, were ordinary marks of humiliation on such occasions;—and it is certainly out of character for the prince who succoured the “useless mouths” which the year before were turned out of Calais, to hang its chief citizens merely for a gallant defence;—a conduct which, on numberless occasions, Edward showed himself so prone to admire. I have, however, in my comments on M. de St. Foix, taken the story as it is usually told.

have effectually insured him against successful attack, that Philip sent to defy him—first to march out with his army to contend in the plain, and afterwards to single combat. It is quite impossible for any thing to tell more favourably for the English king than his whole conduct *up to* the period of the surrender. He had in vain endeavoured, when he first laid siege to the town, to take it by force. Having found the futility of such an attempt, he formally invested it;—and with, as has been seen, a greater degree of military science and skill, than would, *à priori*, have been regarded as possible in such an age. Perhaps, the lack of it on the part of his adversaries may have contributed to the idea of his lines being so perfectly impregnable—They were even considered *unattackable*,—a word little in consonance with that desperate courage,—that love of “seeking bubble reputation even in the cannon’s mouth,” which M. de St. Foix would fain ascribe to Philip de Valois. It was somewhat less than the worthy conduct of a general, to permit his enemy the leisure to form such entrenchments, and then, when he was on the point of reaping the advantage of his skill, labour, and *patience*—for the siege lasted a year—to expect that he would yield up the benefit of them all, and come out to fight him hand to hand! It will be recollected, also, that when Edward first had laid claim to the crown of France,—when it might be considered more as a personal quarrel, and the result a personal advantage to him or to Philip,—he had sent to offer to settle the claim by this arbitre-

ment of arms,—which was then, to a certain degree, considered as an appeal to heaven. Philip, very rightly as I think, refused and even ridiculed the challenge ;*—he was *then* in the better situation of the two. But it is, as it appears to me, a necessary *sequitur* that Edward should refuse (he did *not* do so with insult) a similar proposition, when the chances of war had turned so extraordinarily in his favour. The whole of M. de St. Foix's reflections on Edward's challenge to Philip, as compared with Philip's subsequent one to Edward, are so ludicrously applicable, *mutatis mutandis*, to the converse case, that we are tempted to come to the same conclusion, though applied very differently : "Quel nom donne-t-on à un homme qui envoie un cartel, quand il est intimement persuadé que celui à qui il l'adresse, ne peut pas être assez extravagant pour l'accepter ?" But no—the name which M. de St. Foix would insinuate, was never at any time applicable to either prince ; or, at all events, if it be to the one, it must, by an unavoidable consequence, be so to the other. Philip's conduct in 1347 was precisely similar to Edward's in 1340—only with this difference, that his challenge came from him with a worse grace, as he had refused that of the other on the ground of his being Edward's liege-lord—which no reverses of war, unconfirmed by treaty, could alter, if so the case were.

* Froissart says, he first accepted it, and then failed to come—but this probably was not the case. The transaction took place before Froissart wrote from his own knowledge, (when, indeed, he was about three years old,) and, from many circumstances, one would be inclined to doubt it.

But enough of this.—There is assuredly sufficient glory undisputedly the due of both nations, to give them fully abundant laurels, without this eternal envious bickering, and picking at the leaves of each other's chaplet. Physical courage,—mere physical, brute courage,—is a qualification which man has in common with all other male animals. The absence of it is more remarked than its possession. At all events, it is a quality which the humblest soldier in every army must and does possess to fully an equal extent with the general who leads him. It is strange that this, which is so self-evident, should be so generally overlooked :—at least one would suppose that it is so—or there would not be so much stress laid upon nobles and kings not being deficient in that quality which is possessed by nine-tenths of their male subjects—though perhaps, in different manners, shades, and even degrees. But it is the mind which gives direction, dignity, and usefulness to the impulses of animal nature—and, with respect to personal bravery, more, probably, than all.

Surely, then, it is unworthy to endeavour to pick to pieces the fame justly acquired in contests against our own nation. If it have been our chance to be beaten, it is better to acknowledge the merit of our victor than to fall upon the other horn of the dilemma—namely, that we have been vanquished by an unworthy enemy. The French, most assuredly, need not be reduced to this: they have enough and to spare of military glory, without representing the Black Prince and his father as mere moss-troopers. It is true that

the ravages of France by our armies were awfully devastating; but they are to be attributed rather to the barbarous manners of the age in general, than to any peculiar ferocity of the individual commanders.

On our part, we are to be reproached with sins of omission, not of actual misrepresentation. We do not attempt to blacken or undervalue Charles V. and Du Guesclin; but we say very little on the subject. The successes of the two Edwards are recorded and studied with the greatest minuteness of detail; but the reverses, which, in their consequences, if not in brilliancy, were of equal extent, are slurred over so as to leave scarcely any impression on the mind. The former topics occupy half a volume; the latter scarcely a page.* Is this just? Is this wise? Surely, all national glory is more correctly, nay more highly, valued, when rigidly measured by the standard of inquiry and of truth. I question, indeed, very much the soundness of those national feelings which would betray us into such absurdities as those which I have just exposed in M. de St. Foix—a writer, on other points, of sound and candid views, as well as of much curious knowledge of historical antiquities.

Another fault of omission, also, we are guilty of,

* In Hume, this is particularly remarkable. His whole history of the reign of Richard II. is singularly meagre and jejune. He confines himself almost entirely to the domestic transactions; and gives only a few sentences to the foreign wars. The effect of this is, that we lose the *thread* of that great contest; and do not know where we are, when it is renewed under Henry V.

with respect to these wars; and, in part, it relates immediately to Aquitaine:—I mean that we scarcely ever take into consideration the great proportion which, after the accession of John, the Gascons (to say nothing of other foreign troops, mercenaries, vassals, &c.) bore in the armies led by English commanders. At the battle of Poitiers, especially, their service was most distinguished; and it is to be feared that, after the peace, their recompense, in offices of trust in the administration of their own country, was but little proportioned to the aid which they had rendered during the war.

Into the events of these wars generally it is obviously beside my purpose here to enter: it is only the part which Aquitaine bore in the contest, that comes within the scope of these remarks. And that province was distinguished, at its commencement, during its course, and at its conclusion, somewhat remarkably. Some encroachments of Philip de Valois upon Guienne decided Edward upon engaging in the war, to which he was already so well inclined. It was in Guienne that the first dawn of success, which subsequently rose to so bright a meridian, beamed upon England, after the inefficient, and even disastrous, attempts on the frontiers of the Low Countries. And it was on the side of Guienne that the chief cessions were made, at the peace of Bretigny—including that of the suzerainty of the whole. These provinces, joined to the former English possessions in that quarter, were erected by Edward III. into a principality for his celebrated son, who thenceforward added the title of Prince of

Acquittaine to that of Prince of Wales; and came to hold his court at Bordeaux in 1361.

It was, also, from Bordeaux that the Black Prince sallied, and to Bordeaux that he returned, on the occasion of the battle of Poitiers. The observations which I have thought needed on that subject, will be found in the notes appended to the narration of the battle. I shall now proceed to give some slight account of the state of Aquitaine under the government of the Prince of Wales.

Although Guienne seems to have been tolerably attached to the English, even to the end of their dominion in that country,—the neighbouring provinces displayed the greatest reluctance to their transference at the peace of Bretigny. They even mooted the question of how far their lawful suzerain possessed the right to make over that suzerainty to another. Neither did the government of the Prince of Wales tend to conciliate their affections. Every office, all descriptions of favour were conferred upon the English, and upon some of those Gascon knights who had fought in their ranks during the preceding wars. The English barons and knights, in their turn, treated with extreme haughtiness the natives of the country;—thus ever presenting to their minds that they were a conquered people, and galling at once every feeling of national and of personal pride.

Thus indisposed as were men's minds towards the rule of the Black Prince, it needed but the occurrence of a direct grievance to call all these scattered feelings

into one mass, to render them of available force and real injury. This arose from the expedition, of which the reader will find the account in the story I have intituled, "The Black Prince in Spain"—an expedition most needless in its origin, and most fatal in its ultimate results, but attended during its course with the most brilliant successes, and affording, perhaps, a higher specimen of the military genius of Edward than any of his exploits more immediately connected with the fortunes of England. At the battle of Crecy his father in fact commanded. The prince was at that time quite a boy, and, in evincing exceeding personal courage, did all that it was possible for him to do. If the battle of Poitiers displayed, as it undoubtedly did, equal skill and valour, still it shewed want of conduct for him to have got into a position so fearful, as to have rendered imprudence on the part of his antagonists, equal in degree to his own talents, a necessary adjunct to save his army from utter destruction. But the Spanish expedition displays one course of uninterrupted and (militarily speaking) deserved success, from first to last. The battle of Najara is, probably, one of the most brilliant victories of that warlike age.

The circumstances of this campaign the reader will find very animatedly given in the account of it which I have selected from Froissart.

But if the success of this undertaking was great, so were the expenses attending it. The campaign had been made at the head of a large number of the com-

*panies**; and these men, like the Swiss of modern days, were always most strict in exacting the price at which they sold their valour. Peter the Cruel, after he had been re-established on his throne by the successes of Edward, failed in his promises to reimburse him. The latter, therefore, was thrown upon his own resources, in order to enlarge which he laid a tax of one livre a year upon every hearth in his dominions. This was the one drop which made the cup run over; many of the barons broke out into open resistance, and, sure of being supported by the French king in any attempt to weaken the power of the prince or of his father, they appealed from the prince of Aquitaine to Charles V., as lord paramount of the duchy.

Charles received their claim, and summoned Edward to Paris to answer to it; and hence arose the great question of the infraction of the treaty of Breigny. I do not think that I am blinded by national feelings when I say, that it seems to me quite clear that that treaty was broken by the French. The facts appear to me to lead to this conclusion, and it is the more naturally drawn, from its being entirely their interest to infringe it, and that of the English to observe it. In exchange for the empty assumption of the title of king of France, which he had never been able, with all his victories, to enforce, and which there appeared no probability of his enforcing,—Edward III. had received a vast tract of most fertile and valuable country, together with many important fortresses, in

* See Historical Notice of the Companions, Vol. II.

full possession and sovereignty. The only stipulation on the other side was the renunciation above named. Which, therefore, had the most profitable bargain? Which was most likely to desire to retain things as they were?

The only arguments alleged on the contrary side of the question, have always appeared to me to be nothing but special pleading and chicanery. Shortly after the treaty of Bretigny, as some difficulties arose in making good the transfer of some of the ceded places, a suspension of the formal mutual renunciation was agreed upon, with a proviso, that neither party, in the mean time, should make any use of the claims to be renounced. The formal renunciation never, in fact, took place, but it was fully acted upon in spirit. Edward III. ceased to assume the title of king of France, and to quarter the arms of that kingdom in his escutcheon; and the ceded provinces were erected into the Principality of Aquitaine, without either John, or his son on his accession, ever thinking of claiming homage from the Black Prince. And on this absence of the interchange of formal renunciations, do the French writers rest their case of not having infringed the treaty of Bretigny.

But that infraction, as it appears to me, is to be, if not justified, at least palliated, upon broader and more general grounds. The treaty was such as only the extremity of distress could have induced the French to conclude. It dismembered the monarchy, stripping it of some of its richest provinces, and, in every re-

spect, was so humiliating and injurious that, I think, it must have been quite clear that the French would observe it no longer than their weakness compelled them to do so. There are some national feelings and interests which no treaties can bind, when the force of circumstances in which they originated is removed.

The renewed war was as remarkable for the success of the French, as the former had been for that of the English—with this difference; there were no great battles, like those of Crecy and Poitiers—there were scarcely even any celebrated sieges, like that of Calais. But place after place fell—province after province was lost,—till at last, of all their acquisitions and former possessions in France, the Edwards, at their death, retained only Bordeaux and Bayonne, with Calais and the circumjacent country.

During the reign of Richard II., the French war was conducted on both sides with singular feebleness and inactivity. After the death of Charles V., which happened in 1380, it sank almost into non-existence; short truces were frequent, and at other times the military operations were rather of the nature of partisan warfare than those incidental to an international quarrel. One great attempt, indeed, was conceived on the part of France for the invasion of England; but it fell abortive*. At length a truce of twenty-five years was agreed upon between the two countries in 1396, on the occasion of the marriage of Richard II. to

* See Vol. II., pp. 169 et seq.

Isabel of France. Each party retained the territory of which they were in possession, with the exception of Brest and Cherbourg, the former being restored to the duke of Brittany, the latter to the king of Navarre.

Acquitaine, during this period, had more than the general share of war; Guienne, and Gascony especially, being subdivided into a great number of petty counties, lordships, and châtelainries, were scenes of constant discord. Some adhered to the French side, some to the English, and some to each alternately. The portion of territory in the possession of either power varied continually. That the English, however, always maintained a considerable footing in those parts, appears from the fact of Richard II. having made over to the duke of Lancaster (John of Gaunt), for life, the sovereignty of the duchy. This prince had succeeded to the government and military command of the southern provinces, on the departure of the Black Prince in consequence of his declining health, shortly before his death. The cession of which I have just spoken was made, some years afterwards, on the return of the duke of Lancaster from Spain, where he had been ineffectually prosecuting his claim to the crown of Castile, in right of his wife, who was daughter of Peter the Cruel*. The Acquitains, however, whether from personal dislike to the duke of Lancaster (whose character was by no means of a popular cast), or from disinclination to be separated

* See Note [7] to the Black Prince in Spain.

from their connection with so great a power as that of England, remonstrated so strongly against the grant, that the king, with the concurrence of his uncle, revoked it.

During the reign of Henry IV., the long truce was indeed broken, but with feeble efforts, and was speedily renewed. Henry, during the greater part of his reign, was occupied in quelling seditions at home; and the imbecility of Charles VI., added to the anarchy arising from the furious contests of the factions of Burgundy and Armagnac, incapacitated the French from undertaking any enterprise of moment. An attempt, it is true, was made upon Calais, by the Duke of Burgundy, and upon Guienne by the Duke of Orleans; but they were both attended by unimportant results.

Neither did the renewal of hostilities, under Henry V., nor the long wars which succeeded during his son's minority, materially affect the situation of Aquitaine. The seat of war was nearly always to the north of the Loire, and never in Guienne, till the later successes of Charles VII., joined to the distraction of the English councils, from domestic feuds, induced that prince to send an army to invade this province, under the command of the celebrated Dunois. The incidents of the surrender of Bordeaux and of Bayonne, sufficiently shew that their inhabitants would, to use the expression of the time, gladly have remained "English," had they been in any degree supported by us. With some account of these circumstances, I shall conclude

this sketch of the history of our possessions in that quarter.

Normandy having been entirely subdued by the French in the year 1449-50, Charles VII. was encouraged, by the disorders then raging in England *, to attempt the final expulsion of the English from France. Nothing remained to complete this but the subjugation of Aquitaine.

The Count de Foix, the Count de Pentièvre, the Sire d'Albret, and other captains, had already obtained some advantages over our garrisons in those parts, when in the month of May, 1451, the king sent the famous Bastard of Orleans, as his lieutenant-general, to complete the conquest. The English had still a very considerable party in the province. It had been attached to England for three hundred years; and had during that time, in great measure, lost all community of feeling with its French neighbours. But the extreme disorders of the English government prevented their devoting to this valuable possession even that moderate attention and assistance which would have preserved it theirs.

The first considerable enterprise which the Count de Dunois undertook, was the siege of Blaye, which he reduced in a few weeks. Libourne, Fronsac, and Dax made but slight resistance. In short, the English very soon retained only Bordeaux and Bayonne; and without much hope of preserving even

* This was the period of Jack Cade's insurrection.

these. The inhabitants of Bordeaux evinced a disposition to treat. The archbishop, and several of the principal persons of the town, at an interview with the Count de Dunois, agreed that if the place were not relieved by the English, by the 23rd of June, Bordeaux and all the fortresses of the duchy of Guienne should be delivered up to the King of France—on condition that the inhabitants should preserve the enjoyment of all their privileges and immunities;—that all private property should be respected;—that no new taxes should be imposed;—that a supreme court of justice, and a mint, should be established at Bordeaux;—and that all persons, under this change of circumstances, might be allowed to go or stay at their pleasure.

The 23rd of June being arrived, the Count Dunois presented himself before the gates of the city, with a most numerous and brilliant suite of the chief officers of his army. A herald, belonging to the place, first summoned the English succours three times in a loud voice; and no one appearing, the principal persons both of the town and of the province opened the gates, and delivered the keys to the Count. Subsequent ceremonies, both religious and civil, of great form and pomp, were gone through. All the principal nobles of the country swore allegiance to the King of France, except the Captal de Buch, (one of the most celebrated names in the former wars, under the Edwards,) who, being a Knight of the Garter, considered the oath as contrary to the statutes of the

order. He transmitted his lands to his sons, and transported his moveables to England.

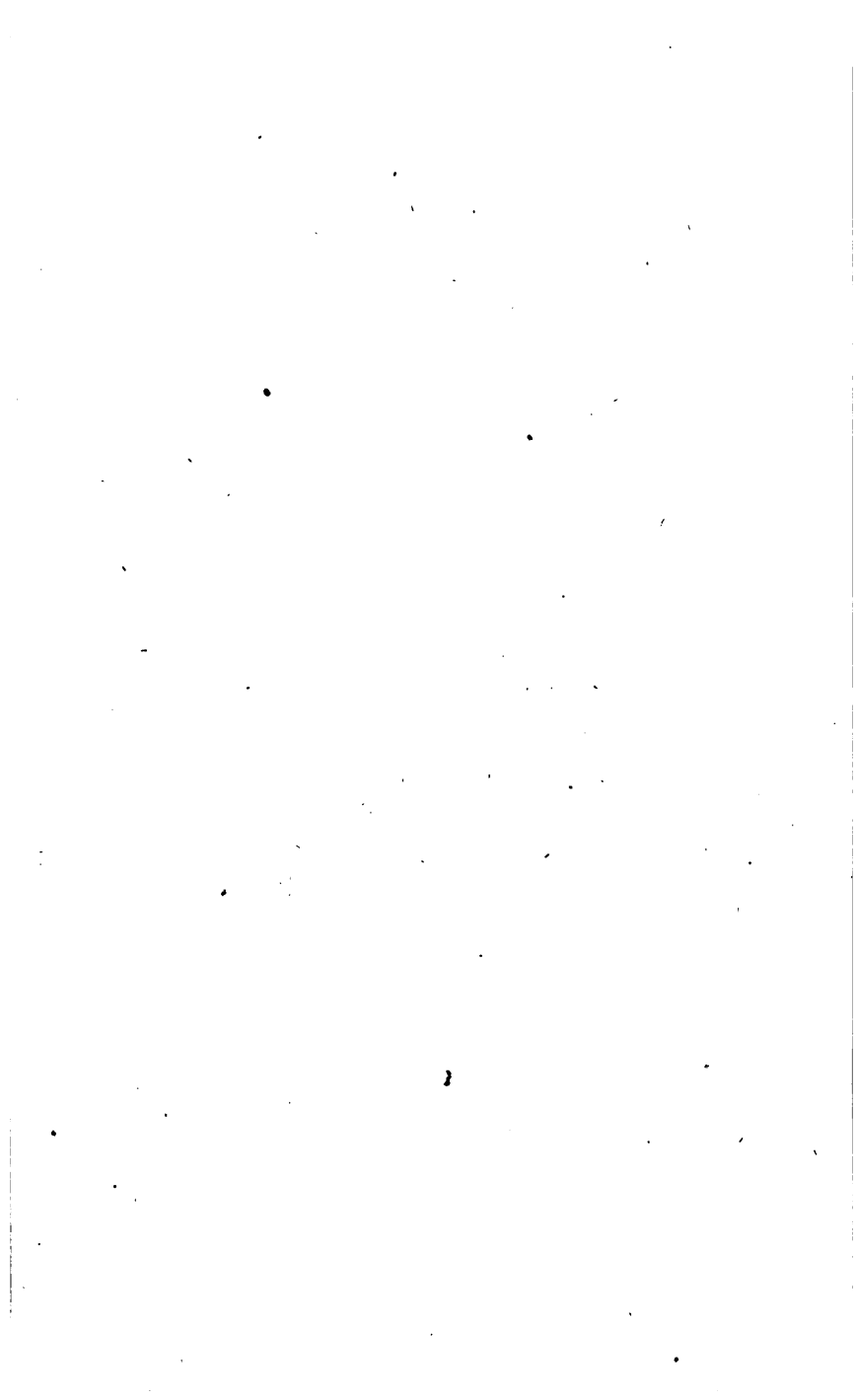
So strictly, indeed, were the mild conditions of the surrender observed by the Count Dunois, that a soldier, who attempted to pillage, was immediately executed on a new gallows, erected, on that occasion, for offenders under the French government.

Bayonne did not hold out long after the fall of Bordeaux. On the 20th of August the gates were opened to the lieutenant-general of the King of France. The surrender of the town was marked, as the contemporary writers assert, by a supernatural portent. A white cross, the emblem of France, was observed by the whole town and army, in the skies—a type, as they asserted, that God delivered the place to the French king, and commanded the inhabitants to abjure the red cross of England!

Thus ended the English Power in Aquitaine, after an existence of two hundred and ninety-nine years, Eleanor of Aquitaine having been married to Henry II. in the year 1152, and Bayonne having surrendered to the French arms, on the 20th of August, 1451*.

* The inhabitants of Bordeaux revolted the following year, and placed their town in the hands of the English. It was, however, speedily and finally regained by the French; and the event is remarkable only as shewing the strong attachment of the Bordelais to England, and from the circumstance of the celebrated Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, having been slain in the action which decided the contest.

The Battle of Poitiers.



THE
BATTLE OF POITIERS. [1.]

CAP. I.

HOW THE BLACK PRINCE RODE IN BERRI.

A.D.
1356. WHEN the French king had made his journey, and reconquered towns and castles in Lower Normandy, pertaining as then to the King of Navarre, whom he held in prison, and was gone back to the city of Paris,—it was not long after but that he heard how the Prince of Wales, with a good number of men of war, was far entered into the country approaching the good city of Berri. Then the king said and sware that he would ride and fight with him wheresoever he found him. Then the king made again a special assembly of all nobles and such as held of him; his commandment was that, all manner of excuses laid apart, his letters once seen, every man on pain of his displeasure should draw and meet with him in the Marches of Blois and Touraine, for the intent to fight with the Englishmen. And the king, to make the more haste, departed from Paris and rode to Chartres, to hear the better of surety what the Englishmen did. There he rested, and daily men of war resorted thither from all parts, as of Auvergne, Berri, Burgandy, Lorraine, Hainault, Vermandois, Picardy,

Britanny, and Normandy ; and, ever as they came, they were set forward, and made their musters, and lodged in the country, by the assignment of the marshals the Lord John of Clermont and the Lord Arnold d'Andrehen. The king also sent great provision to all his fortresses and garrisons in Anjou, Poitou, Maine, and Touraine, and into all the fortresses where he thought the Englishmen should pass, to the intent to close the passages from them, and to keep them from victuals, that they should find no forage for them nor their horses. Howbeit, for all that, the prince and his company, who were to the number of two thousand men of arms, and a six thousand archers, rode at their ease, and had victuals enough—for they found the Country of Auvergne right plentiful ; but they would not tarry there, but went forth to make war on their enemies. They burnt and ravaged the country as much as they might ; for, when they were entered into a town, and found it replenished of all things, they tarried there a two or three days to refresh them. When they departed, they would destroy all the residue, strike off the heads of the vessels of wine, and burn wheat, barley, and oats, and all other things, to the intent their enemies should have no aid thereof. And then they rode forth, and ever found good countries and plentiful ; for, in Berri, Touraine, Anjou, Poitou, and Maine, is a very plentiful country for men of war.

Thus the prince and his company rode onward, taking towns and castles by the way, and destroying the country, till they approached to Anjou and to Touraine. The French king, who was at Chartres, departed and came to Blois, and there tarried two days, and then to Amboise, and the next day to

Loches ; and then he heard how that the prince was at Touraine, and how that he was returning by Poitou. Ever the Englishmen were accosted by certain expert knights of France, who always made report to the king what the Englishmen did. Then the king came to the Haye in Touraine, and his men had passed the river of Loire, some at the Bridge of Orleans, and some at Mehun, at Saumur, at Blois, and at Tours, and whereas they might. They were in number a twenty thousand men at arms, beside other : there were a twenty-six dukes and earls, and more than six score banners, and the four sons of the king, who were but young,—the Duke Charles of Normandy ; the Lord Louis, that from thenceforth was Duke of Anjou ; the Lord John, Duke of Berry ; and the Lord Philip, who was after Duke of Burgundy. [2]

The same season, Pope Innocent the Sixth sent the Lord Bertrand, Cardinal of Perigord, and the Lord Nicholas, Cardinal of L'Aigle, unto France, to treat for a peace between the French King, and all his enemies. First, between him and the king of Navarre, [3] who was in prison ; and these Cardinals often times spake to the king for his deliverance during the siege at Brental, but they could do nothing in that behalf. Then the Cardinal of Perigord went to Tours, and there he heard how the French king hasted sore to find the Englishmen. Then he rode to Poitiers ; for he heard how both the hosts drew thitherward. The French king heard how the prince hasted greatly to return, and the king feared that he should 'scape him, and sô departed from Haye in Touraine, and all his company, and rode to Chauvigny, where he tarried that Thursday, in the

town and without, along by the river of Vienne. And the next day the king passed the river, at the bridge there, wenyng that the Englishmen had been before him, but they were not. Howbeit they pursued after, and passed the bridge, that day, more than threescore thousand horses; and divers others passed at Chastelheraut, and ever as they passed they took the way to Poitiers.

On the other side, the prince, they wist not truly where the Frenchmen were; but they supposed that they were not far off, for they could find no more forage, whereby they had great fault in their host of victual; and some of them repented that they had destroyed so much as they had done before, when they were in Berri, Anjou, and Touraine, and in that they had made no better provision.

The same Friday three great lords of France, the Lord of Craon, the Lord Raoull of Coucy, and the Count of Joigny, tarried all day in the town of Chauvigny, and part of their companies; the Saturday they passed the bridge and followed the king, who was then a three leagues before, and took the way among bushes, without a wood-side, to go to Poitiers. The same Saturday the prince and his company dislodged from a little village thereby, and sent before him certain couriers, to see if they might find any adventure, and to hear where the Frenchmen were. They were in number a threescore men of arms, well horsed, and with them was the Lord Eustace d'Auberticourt, and the Lord John of Guystelles; and by adventure, the Englishmen and Frenchmen met together by the aforesaid wood-side. The Frenchmen knew anon how they were their enemies; then in

haste they did on their helmets, and display their banners, and came a great pace towards the Englishmen: they were in number a two hundred men of arms. When the Englishmen saw them, and that they were so great a number, then they determined to fly, and let the Frenchmen chase them, for they knew well the prince with his host was not far behind: then they turned their horses and took the corner of the wood, and the Frenchmen after them, crying their cries and making a great noise. And, as they chased, they came on the prince's battle, ere they were aware thereof themselves. The prince tarried there, to have word again from them that he sent forth: the Lord Raoull of Coucy, with his banner, went so far forward that he was under the prince's banner. There was a sore battle, and the knight fought valiantly. Howbeit, he was there taken, and the Count of Joigny, the Viscount of Bruce, the Lord of Chauvigny, and all the others taken or slain, but a few that escaped. And by the prisoners the prince knew how that the French king followed him in such wise that he could not eschew the battle: then he assembled together all his men, and commanded that no man should go before the marshal's banners.

Thus the prince rode that Saturday from the morning till it was again night, so that he came within two little leagues of Poitiers. Then the Captal de Buch, Sir Aymenon of Pamiers, the Lord Bartholomew of Burghersh, and the Lord Eustace d'Auberticourt, [4] all these the prince sent forth to see if they might know what the Frenchmen did. These knights departed with two hundred men of arms well horsed: they rode so far that they saw the great

battle of the king; they saw all the fields covered with men of arms. These Englishmen could not forbear, but set on the tail of the French host, and cast down many to the earth, and took divers prisoners, so that the host began to stir, and tidings thereof came to the French king as he was entering into the city of Poitiers. Then he returned again, and made all his host do the same: so, that Saturday, it was very late ere he was lodged in the field. The English couriers returned again to the prince, and shewed him all that they saw and knew; and said, that the French host was a great number of people: "Well," said the prince, "in the name of God, let us now study how we shall fight with them at our advantage." That night the Englishmen lodged in a strong place among hedges, vines, and bushes; and their host well watched.

On the Sunday in the morning the French king, who had great desire to fight with the Englishmen, heard his mass in his pavilion, and was housel'd, and his four sons with him. After mass, there came to him the Duke of Orleans, the Duke of Bourbon, the Count of Ponthieu, and divers other great barons of France, and of other neighbours holding of France; and all these, with the king, went to council. Then, finally, it was ordained that all manner of men should draw into the field, and every lord to display his banner, and to set forth in the name of God and St. Denis. Then trumpets blew up through the host, and every man mounted on horseback and went into the field, where they saw the king's banner wave with the wind. There might have been seen great nobles of fair harness and rich armoury of banners and pennons. For there was all the flower of France; there was none durst abide at home, without he would be

shamed for ever. Then it was ordained, by the advice of the Constable and marshals, to be made three battles, and in each ward sixteen thousand men of arms all mustered and passed for men of arms. The first battle, the Duke of Orleans to govern with thirty-six banners and twice as many pennons. The second, the Duke of Normandy and his two brethren, the Lord Louis and the Lord John. The third, the king himself; and while that these battles were setting in array, the king called to him the Lord Eustace Ribeaumont, [5] and two others, and said to them, "Sirs, ride on before, to see the dealing of the Englishmen, and advise well what number they be, and by what means we may fight with them either afoot or on horseback." Then three knights rode forth, and the king was on a white courser, and said aloud to his men, "Sirs, among you, when ye be at Paris, at Chartres, at Rouen, or at Orleans, then ye do threaten the Englishmen, and desire to be in arms out against them; now ye be come thereto. I shall now shew you them—now shew forth your evil will that ye bare them, and revenge your displeasures and damages that they have done you, for without doubt we shall fight with them."

Such as heard him said, "Sir, a-God's name so be it; that would we see gladly."

Therewith the three knights returned again to the king, who demanded of them tidings; then Sir Eustace of Ribeaumont answered for all and said, "Sir, we have seen the Englishmen: by estimation, they be two thousand men of arms and four thousand archers, and a fifteen hundred of other; howbeit they be in a strong place; and as far as we can imagine, they are in one battle: howbeit they be wisely ordered, and

along the way they have fortified strongly the hedges and bushes: one part of their archers are along by the hedges, so that none can go or ride that way, but must pass by them; and that way must ye go, an ye purpose to fight with them. In this hedge there is but one entry, and one issue, by likelihood that four horsemen can ride afront. At the end of this hedge, whereas no man can go nor ride, there be men of arms afoot and archers afore them, in manner of a herse, so that they will not lightly be discomfited. "Well," said the king, "what will ye then counsel us to do?" Sir Eustace said, "Sir, let us all be afoot except three hundred men of arms well horsed, of the best in your host, and most hardiest, to the intent for them somewhat to break and to open the archers; and then your battles to follow on quickly afoot, and so to fight with their men of arms, hand to hand. This is the best advice that I can give you—if any other think any other way better, let him speak." The king said, "Thus shall it be done." Then the two marshals rode from battle to battle, and chose out of them a three hundred knights and squires of the most expert men of arms of all the host, every man well armed and horsed; also it was ordained that the battle of Germans should abide still on horseback, to comfort the marshals if need were, whereof the Count of Saltzburgh and the Count of Nassau were captains. King John of France was there armed, and twenty other in his apparel; and he did put the guiding of his eldest son to the Lord of Saint Venant, the Lord of Landes, and the Lord Tibalt of Bordenay; and the Lord Arnold de Cervolle, called the archpriest, was armed in the armour of the young Count of Alençon.*

* See vol. II. p. 243.

CAP. II.

OF THE ENDEAVOURS OF THE CARDINAL OF PERIGORD
TO MAKE PEACE BETWEEN THE TWO HOSTS.

WHEN the French king's battles were ordered, and every man under his banner among their own men, then it was commanded that every man should cut their spears to a five feet long, and every man to put off their spurs. Thus, as they were ready to approach, the Cardinal of Perigord came in great haste to the king; he came the same morning from Poitiers;—he kneeled down to the king, and held up his hands, and desired him for God's sake a little to abstain setting forward till he had spoken with him: then he said, “Sir, ye have here all the flower of your realm against a handful of Englishmen, as regards your company; and, Sir, if ye may have them accorded to you without battle, it shall be more profitable and honourable to have them by that manner, rather than to adventure so noble chivalry as ye have here present. Sir, I require you in the name of God and humility, that I may ride to the prince, and shew him what danger ye have him in.”

The king said, “It pleaseth me well; but return again shortly.”

The cardinal departed, and diligently he rode to the prince, who was among his men afoot. Then the cardinal alighted and came to the prince, who received him courteously. Then the cardinal, after his salutation made, said, “Certainly, fair son, if you and your

council advise justly the puissance of the French king, ye will suffer me to treat to make a peace between you, an I may." The prince, who was young and lusty, said, "Sir, the honour of me and of my people saved, I would gladly fall to any reasonable way." Then the cardinal said, "Sir, ye say well, and I shall accord ye if I can: for it should be great pity if so many noble men, and other as be here on both parts, should come together by battle." Then the cardinal rode again to the king, and said, "Sir, ye need not to make any great haste to fight with your enemies, for they cannot flee from you though they would, they be in such a ground: wherefore, Sir, I require you forbear for this day till to-morrow the sun rising." The king was loth to agree thereto, for some of his council would not consent to it; but, finally, the cardinal shewed such reasons, that the king accorded that respite. And in the same place there was put up a pavilion of red silk, fresh and rich, and leave gave for that day every man to draw to their lodgings, except the Constable's and marshals' battles.

That Sunday, all the day, the cardinal travelled in riding from the one host to the other, gladly to agree them; but the French king would not agree, without he might have four of the principal of the Englishmen at his pleasure, and the prince and all other to yield themselves simply—howbeit there were many great offers made. The prince offered to render into the king's hands all that ever he had won in that voyage—towns and castles; and to quit all prisoners that he or any of his men had taken in that season, and also to swear not to be armed against the French king in seven years after; but the king and his council would none thereof. The uttermost that he would

do was, that the prince and a hundred of his knights should yield themselves into the king's prison, otherwise he would not: the which the prince would in nowise agree to.

In the mean season, that the cardinal rode thus between the hosts, in trust to do some good, certain knights of France and of England both rode forth the same Sunday (because it was truce for that day,) to coast the hosts, and behold the dealing of their enemies. So it fortuned, that the Lord John Chandos [6] rode the same day, coasting the French host; and in like manner the Lord of Clermont, one of the French marshals, had ridden forth, and aviewed the state of the English host. And as these two knights returned towards their hosts they met together. Each of them bare one manner of device, a blue lady embroidered in a sunbeam, above on their apparel. Then the Lord Clermont said,—

“Chandos! how long have ye taken on you to bear my device?”

“Nay—ye bear mine,” said Chandos, “for it is as well mine as yours.”

“I deny that,” said Clermont, “but an it were not for the truce this day between us, I should make it good on you incontinent, that you have no right to bear my device.”

“Ah! Sir,” said Chandos, “ye shall find me to-morrow ready to defend you, and to prove by feat of arms that it is as well mine as yours.”

Then Clermont said, “Chandos, these be well the words of you Englishmen, for ye can devise nothing new, but all that ye see is good and fair.”

So they departed without any more adoing, and each of them returned to their host.

The Cardinal of Perigord could in no wise that Sunday make any agreement between the parties, and when it was near night he returned to Poitiers. That night the Frenchmen took their ease; they had provision enough, and the Englishmen had great default: they could get no forage, nor they could not depart thence without danger of their enemies. That Sunday the Englishmen made great dykes and hedges about their archers to be more stronger, and on the Monday in the morning the prince and his company were ready apparelled as they were before; and about sun-rising in like manner were the Frenchmen. The same morning, betimes, the cardinal came again to the French host, and thought by his preaching to pacify the parties; but then the Frenchmen said to him—"Return whither ye will—bring hither no more words of treaty or peace, and if ye love yourself depart shortly." When the cardinal saw that he travelled in vain, he took leave of the king, and then he went to the prince, and said, "Sir, do what you can—there is no remedy but to abide the battle, for I can find none accord in the French king." Then the prince said, "The same is our intent and all our people; God help the right!" So the cardinal returned to Poitiers. In his company there were certain knights and squires, men at arms, who were more favourable to the French king than to the prince; and when they saw that the parties should fight, they stole from their masters and went to the French host, and they made their captain the Chatelain of Amposta, who was as then there with the cardinal, who knew nothing thereof till he was come to Poitiers.

The certainty of the order of the Englishmen was shewed to the French king, except they had ordained

three hundred men a horseback, and as many archers a horseback, to coast under covert of the mountain, and to strike into the battle of the Duke of Normandy, who was under the mountain afoot. This ordinance they had made anew, that the Frenchmen knew not of; the prince was with his battle down among the vines, and had closed in the weakest part with their carriages.

CAP. III.

OF THE ENCOUNTER.

WHEN the prince saw that he should have battle, and that the cardinal was gone without any peace or truce making, and saw that the French king did set but little store by him, he said then to his men,—“Now, Sirs, though we be but a small company, as in regard to the puissance of our enemies, let us not be abashed therefore: for the victory lieth not in the multitude of people, but whereas God will send it. If it fortune that the journey be ours, we shall be the most honoured people of all the world; and if we die in our right quarrel, I have the king my father, and brethren, and also ye have good friends and kinsmen—these shall revenge us; therefore, Sirs, for God’s sake, I require you do your devoirs this day, for if God be pleased, and Saint George, this day ye shall see me a good knight.” These words, and such other that the prince spake, comforted all his people: the Lord Sir John Chandos that day never went from the prince, nor also the Lord James Audley, of a great season: but when he saw that they should needs fight, he said to the prince, “Sir, I have served always truly my lord your father, and you also, and shall do as long as I live: I say this because I made once a vow, that the first battle that either the king your father or any of his children should be at, how that I would be one of the first setters on, or else to die in the pain; therefore I require your grace, as in reward for any service that ever I did

to the king your father or to you, that ye will give me license to depart from you, and to set myself there, as I may accomplish my vow." The prince accorded to his desire, and said, "Sir James, God give you this day that grace to be the best knight of all other," and so took him by the hand. Then the knight departed from the prince, and went to the foremost front of all the battles, only accompanied with four squires, who promised not to fail him.

This Lord James was a right sage and a valiant knight; and by him was much of the host ordained and governed the day before. Thus Sir James was in the front of the battle, ready to fight with the battle of the marshals of France. In like wise, the Lord Eustace d'Auberticourt did his pain to be one of the foremost to set on. When Sir James Audley began to set forward to his enemies, it fortun'd to Sir Eustace d'Auberticourt as ye shall hereafter learn.

Ye have heard before how the Germans in the French host were appointed to be still a horseback. Sir Eustace being a horseback laid his spear in the rest, and ran into the French battle; and then a knight of Germany, called the Lord Lewis of Coucibras, who bare a shield silver, five roses gules, and Sir Eustace bare ermine, two humets gules. When this German saw the Lord Eustace come from his company, he rode against him, and they met so rudely that both knights fell to the earth. The German was hurt in the shoulder, therefore he rose not so quickly as did Sir Eustace, who, when he was up and had taken his breath, came to the other knight as he lay on the ground; but then five other knights of Germany came on him all at once and bore him to the earth; and so perforce there

he was taken prisoner and brought to the Count of Nassau, who, as then, took no heed of him, and I cannot say whether they sware him prisoner or no, but they tied him to a chair, and there let him stand. Then the battle began on all parts, and the battles of the marshals of France approached, and they set forth that were appointed to break the array of the archers. They entered a-horseback into the way where the great hedges were on both sides, and set full of archers. As soon as the men of arms entered, the archers began to shoot on both sides, and did slay and hurt horses and knights; so that the horses when they felt the sharp arrows they would in no wise go forward, but drew back, and flung, and took on so fiercely, that many of them fell on their masters—so that for the press they could not rise again—insomuch that the marshals' battle could never come at the prince. Certain knights and squires that were well horsed, passed through the archers, and thought to approach to the prince, but they could not. The Lord James Audley, with his four squires, was in the front of that battle, and there did marvels in arms; and by great prowess he came and fought with Sir Arnold d'Andrehen under his own banner, and there they fought long together, and Sir Arnold was there sore handled. The battle of the marshals began to disorder, by reason of the shot of the archers, with the aid of the men of arms, who came in among them, and slew them, and did what they list; and there was the Lord Arnold d'Andrehen taken prisoner by other men than by Sir James Audley, or by his four squires; for that day he never took prisoner, but always fought and went on his enemies. Also, on the French part, the Lord John

Clermont fought under his own banner as long as he could endure; but there he was beaten down, and could not be relieved nor ransomed, but was slain without mercy. Some said it was because of the words that he had the day before to Sir John Chandos. So, within a short space, the marshals' battles were discomfited, for they fell one upon another, and could not go forth; and the Frenchmen that were behind, and could not get forward, recoiled back and came on the battle of the Duke of Normandy, the which was great and thick, and were afoot. But, anon, they began to open behind; for when they knew that the marshals' battle was discomfited, they took their horses and departed, he that might best; [7] also they saw a rout of Englishmen coming down a little mountain a-horseback, and many archers with them, who brake in on the side of the duke's battle.

True to say, the archers did their company that day great advantage, for they shot so thick that the Frenchmen wist not on what side to take heed; and little and little the Englishmen won ground on them; and when the men of arms of England saw that the marshals' battle was discomfited, and that the duke's battle began to disorder and open, they leaped then on their horses, the which they had ready by them. Then they assembled together, and cried, "Saint George for Guienne!" and the Lord Chandos said to the prince, "Sir, take your horse and ride forth, this journey is your's—God is this day in your hands—get us to the French king's battle, for there lieth all the sore of the matter. I think verily by his valiantness he will not fly; I trust we shall have him, by the grace of God and Saint George, so he be well fought withal; and, Sir, I heard you say, that this day I

should see you a good knight." The prince said, "Let us go forth—ye shall not see me this day return back;" and said, "advance banner, in the name of God and of Saint George!" The knight that bare it did his commandment; there was then a sore battle and a perilous, and many a man overthrown, and he that was once down could not be relieved again without great succour and aid. As the prince rode and entered in among his enemies, he saw on his right hand, in a little bush, lying dead, the Lord Robert of Duras, and his banner by him, and a ten or twelve of his men about him. Then the prince said to two of his squires, and to three archers, "Sirs, take the body of this knight on a targe, and bear him to Poitiers, and present him from me to the Cardinal of Perigord, and say how I salute him by that token"—and this was done. The prince was informed that the cardinal's men were on the field against him, the which was not pertaining to the right order of arms, for men of the church, that cometh and goeth for treaty of peace, ought not by reason to bear harness, nor to fight for neither of the parties. They ought to be indifferent, and because these men had done so, the prince was displeased with the cardinal, and therefore he sent unto him his nephew the Lord Robert of Duras dead; and the Chatelain of Amposta was taken, and the prince would have had his head stricken off, because he was pertaining to the cardinal, but then the Lord Chandos said, "Sir, suffer for a season—attend to a greater matter, and peradventure the cardinal will make such excuse that ye shall be content." Then the prince and his company addressed them on the battle of the Duke of Athens, Constable of France: there was a many slain and cast to the earth. As the Frenchmen fought in com-

panies, they cried, " Monjoie, Saint Denis !" and the Englishmen, " Saint George for Guienne !" Anon the prince with his company met with the battle of Germans, whereof the Count of Saltzburgh, the Count of Nassau, and the Count Neydo, were captains ; but in a short space they were put to flight. The archers shot so wholly together, that none durst come in their danger ; they slew many a man that could not come to any ransom. These three counts were there slain, and divers other knights and squires of their company ; and there was the Lord d'Auberticourt rescued by his own men, and set on horseback, and after he did that day many feats of arms, and took good prisoners.

When the Duke of Normandy's battle saw the prince approach, they thought to save themselves ; and so the duke and the king's children, the Count of Poitiers, and the Count of Touraine, who were right young, believed their governors, and so departed from the field, and with them more than eight hundred spears that struck no stroke that day. Howbeit the Lord Guischarde D'Angle, and the Lord John of Saintré, who were with the Count of Poitiers, would not fly, but entered into the thickest press of the battle. The king's three sons took the way to Chauvigny ; and the Lord John of Landes, and the Lord Thiebault of Bordenay, who were set to await on the Duke of Normandy, when they had brought the duke a long league from the battle, then they took leave of the duke, and desired the Lord of St. Venant that he should not leave the duke, but to bring him in safeguard, whereby he should win more thanks of the king than to abide still in the field. Then they met also the Duke of Orleans, and a great company with

him, who were also departed from the field with clear hands; there were many good knights and squires, though that their masters departed from the field, yet they had rather a died than to have had any reproach.

Then the king's battle came on the Englishmen—there was a sore fight, and many a great stroke given and received. The king and his youngest son met with the battle of the English marshals, the Earl of Warwick and the Earl of Suffolk, and with them of Gascony, the Captal de Buch, the Lord de Pamiers, and divers others. To the French party there came, time enough, the Lord John of Landes and the Lord de Bodenay; they alighted afoot, and went into the king's battle: and a little beside fought the Duke of Athens, Constable of France, and a little above him the Duke of Bourbon, and many good knights of Bourbonnais and of Picardy with him. And a little on the one side there were the Poitevins. In another part there was the Lord James of Bourbon, the Lord John d'Artois, and also the Lord James his brother: the Lord Arnold of Cervolle, called the archpriest, armed for the young Count of Alençon and of Auvergne. And also in the king's battle there was the Earl Douglas of Scotland, who fought a season right valiantly, but when he saw the discomfiture, he departed, and saved himself, for in no wise he would be taken of the Englishmen, he had rather been there slain.

On the English part, the Lord James Audley, with the aid of his four squires, fought always in the chief of the battle; he was sore hurt in the body and in the visage,—as long as his breath served him he fought; at last, at the end of the battle, his four squires took

him and brought him out of the field and laid him under a hedge to refresh him ; and they unarmed him, and bound up his wounds as well as they could.

On the French party, king John was that day a full right good knight ; if the fourth part of his men had done their endeavours as well as he did, the journey had been his by all likelihood : howbeit they were all slain and taken that were there, except a few that saved themselves that were with the king. There were, at that brunt, slain and taken more than two hundred knights.

Among the battles, rencountering, chases, and pursuits, that were made that day in the field, it fortunèd so to Sir Edward of Roucy, that, when he departed from the field, because he saw the field was lost without recovery, he thought not to abide the danger of the Englishmen, wherefore he fled all alone, and was gone out of the field a league ; and an English knight pursued him, and ever cried to him and said, “ Return again, Sir Knight !—it is a shame to fly away thus.” Then the knight returned, and the English knight thought to have stricken him with his spear in the targe, but he failed, for Sir Edward swerved aside from the stroke ; but he failed not the English knight, for he struck him such a stroke on the helm with his sword that he was astonied, and fell from his horse to the earth, and lay still. Then Sir Edward alighted, and came to him ere he could rise, and said, “ Yield you, rescue or no rescue, or else I shall slay you ;” the Englishman yielded, and went with him, and afterwards was ransomed. Also it fortunèd that another squire of Picardy, called John de Helenes, was fled from the battle ; and met with his page, who delivered him a new, fresh horse, whereon he rode

away alone. The same season there was in the field the Lord Berkeley of England, a young lusty knight, who the same day had reared his banner: and he alone pursued the said John of Helenes; and when he had followed the space of a league, the said John turned again, and laid his sword in the rest instead of a spear, and so came running toward the Lord Berkeley, who lifted up his sword to have stricken the squire, but when he saw the stroke come, he turned from it, so that the Englishman lost his stroke, and John struck him as he passed on the arm, that the Lord Berkeley's sword fell into the field; when he saw his sword down he lighted suddenly off his horse, and came to the place where his sword lay; and as he stooped down to take up his sword, the French squire did prick his sword at him, and by hap struck him through both the thighs, so that the knight fell to the earth and could not help himself; and John alighted off his horse and took the knight's sword that lay on the ground, and came to him and demanded if he would yield him or not,—the knight then demanded his name. "Sir," said he, "I hight John of Helenes, but what is your name?" "Certainly," said the knight, "my name is Thomas, and I am Lord of Berkeley, a fair castle on the river of Severn, in the marches of Wales." "Well, Sir," quoth the squire, "then ye shall be my prisoner, and I shall bring you in safeguard, and I shall see that you shall be healed of your hurt." "Well," said the knight, "I am content to be your prisoner, for ye have by law of arms won me." There he sware to be his prisoner, rescue or no rescue—then the squire drew forth the sword out of the knight's thighs and the wound was open: then he wrapped and bound the wound,

and set him on his horse, and so brought him fair and easily to Châtelherault; and there tarried more than fifteen days for his sake, and did get him remedy for his hurt; and when he was somewhat amended, then he got him a litter, and so brought him at his ease to his house in Picardy: there he was more than a year till he was perfectly whole; and when he departed, he paid for his ransom six thousand nobles, and so this squire was made a knight by reason of the profit that he had of the Lord Berkeley.

CAP. IV.

OF THE TAKING THE KING OF FRANCE PRISONER.

OFTENTIMES the adventures of amours and of war are more fortunate and marvellous than any man can think or wish; truly this battle which was near to Poitiers, in the fields of Beauvoir and Maupertuis, was right great and perilous, and many deeds of arms there were done, the which all came not to knowledge. The fighters, on both sides, endured much pain; King John with his own hands did that day marvels in arms; he had an axe in his hands wherewith he defended himself, and fought in the breaking of the press. Near to the king there was taken the Count of Tancarville, Sir James of Bourbon, Count of Ponthieu, and the Lord John of Artois, count of Eu; and, a little above that, under the banner of the Capital of Buch, was taken, Sir Charles of Artois, and divers other knights and squires. The chase endured to the gates of Poitiers—there were many slain and beaten down, horse and man, for they of Poitiers closed their gates, and would suffer none to enter; wherefore in the street before the gate was horrible murder, men hurt and beaten down; the Frenchmen yielded themselves as far off as they might know an Englishman: there were divers English archers that had four, five, or six prisoners. The Lord of Pons, a great baron of Poitou, was there slain, and many other knights and squires; and there was taken the Count of Rochvart, the Lord of Dampmaire, the Lord

of Pertney and of Xaintonge; the Lord of Montandre, and the Lord John of Saintr , but he was so sore hurt that he had never health after; he was reputed for one of the best knights in France: and there was left for dead, among other dead men, the Lord Richard d'Angle, who fought that day by the king right valiantly, and so did the Lord of Charny, on whom was great press, because he bore the sovereign banner of the king: his own banner was also in the field, the which was of gules, three scutcheons silver. So many Englishmen and Gascons came to that part, that perforce they opened the king's battle, so that the Frenchmen were so mingled among their enemies that sometime there were five men upon one gentleman.

Here was taken the Lord of Pompadour, and there was slain Sir Geoffrey of Charny, with the king's banner in his hands: also the Lord Reynold Cobham slew the Count of Dammartyn. Then there was a great press to take the king, and such as knew him cried, "Sir, yield you—or else ye are but dead." There was a knight of Saint Omers, retained in wages with the King of England, called Sir Dennis Morbecque, who had served the Englishman five years before, because in his youth he had forfeited the realm of France, for a murder that he did at Saint Omers. It happened so well for him that he was next to the king when they were about to take him: he stepped forth into the press, and by strength of his body and arms he came to the French king, and said in good French, "Sir, yield you." The king beheld the knight, and said, "To whom shall I yield me?—Where is my cousin the Prince of Wales?—if I might see him, I would speak with him." Dennis answered and said, "Sir, he is not here; but yield you to me, and I shall bring you

to him." "Who be you?" quoth the king. "Sir," quoth he, "I am Dennis of Morbecque, a knight of Artois; but I serve the King of England, because I am banished the realm of France, and I have forfeited all that I had there." Then the king gave him his right gauntlet, saying "I yield me to you."

There was a great press about the king, for every man enforced him to say, "I have taken him," so that the king could not go forward with his young son, the Lord Philip, with him, because of the press. The Prince of Wales, who was courageous and cruel as a lion, took great pleasure to fight and chase his enemies; the Lord John Chandos, who was with him, of that day never left him, nor never took heed of taking any prisoner. Then at the end of the battle, he said to the prince, "Sir, it were good that you rested here, and set your banner a-high in this bush, that your people may draw hither, for they be sore spread abroad—nor I can see more banners nor penons of the French party: wherefore, Sir, rest and refresh you, for ye be sore chafed." Then the prince's banner was set up a-high on a bush, and trumpets and clarions began to sound: then the prince put off his basenet, and the knights of his body and they of his chamber were ready about him, and a red pavilion put up; and then drink was put forth to the prince, and for such lords as were about him, the which still increased as they came from the chase. There they tarried, and their prisoners with them. And when the two marshals were come to the prince, he demanded of them if they knew any tidings of the French king: they answered and said, "Sir, we hear none of certainty; but we think verily he is either dead or taken, for he is not gone out of the battle." Then the prince said

to the Earl of Warwick and to Sir Reynold Cobham, "Sirs, I require you to go forth, and see what ye can know, that at your return ye may shew me the truth."

These two lords took their horses, and departed from the prince, and rode up a little hill to look about them; then they perceived a flock of men of arms coming together right wearily: there was the French king afoot in great peril, for Englishmen and Gascons were his masters—they had taken him from Sir Dennis Morbecque perforce, and such as were most of force said, "I have taken him."—"Nay," quoth another, "I have taken him:" so they strave which should have him. Then the French king, to eschew that peril, said, "Sirs, strive not—lead me courteously and my son to my cousin the prince, and strive not for my taking, for I am so great a lord to make you all rich." The king's words somewhat appeased them: howbeit, ever as they went they made riot, and brawled for the taking of the king. When the two foresaid lords saw and heard that noise and strife among them, they came to them and said, "Sirs, what is the matter that ye strive for?" "Sirs," said one of them, "it is for the French king, who is here taken prisoner, and there be more than ten knights and squires that challengeth the taking of him and of his son." Then the two lords entered into the press, and caused every man to draw back, and commanded them in the prince's name, on pain of their heads, to make no more noise, nor to approach the king no nearer, without they were commanded. Then every man gave room to the lords, and they alighted and did their reverence to the king, and so brought him and his son in peace and rest to the Prince of Wales.

CAP. V.

HOW THE BLACK PRINCE ENTERTAINED THE FRENCH
KING AT SUPPER.

As soon as the Earl of Warwick and the Lord Cobham were departed from the prince, as ye have heard before, then the prince demanded of the knights that were about him for the Lord Audley, if any knew any thing of him. Some knights that were there, answered and said, "Sir, he is sore hurt, and lieth in a litter here beside." "By my faith," said the prince, "of his hurts I am right sorry—go and know if he may be brought hither, or else I will go and see him there as he is."

Then two knights came to the Lord Audley, and said, "Sir, the prince desireth greatly to see you: either ye must go to him, or else he will come to you."

"Ah, sir!" said the knight, "I thank the prince when he thinketh on so poor a knight as I am."

Then he called eight of his servants, and caused them to bear him in his litter to the place where the prince was. Then the prince took him in his arms, and kissed him, and made him great cheer, and said, "Sir James, I ought greatly to honour you, for by your valiance ye have this day achieved the grace and renown of us all, and ye are reputed for the most valiant of all other."

"Ah, sir!" said the knight, "ye say as it pleaseth you. I would it were so; and if I have anything this day advanced myself to serve you, and to accom-

plish the vow that I have made, it ought not to be reputed to me any prowess."

"Sir James," said the Prince, "I and all ours take you in this journey for the best doer in arms; and to the intent to furnish you the better to pursue the wars, I retain you for ever to be my knight with five hundred marks of yearly revenues, the which I shall assign you on mine heritage in England."

"Sir," said the knight, "God grant me to deserve the great goodness that ye shew me."

And so he took his leave of the prince, for he was right feeble, and so his servants brought him to his lodging; and as soon as he was gone, the Earl of Warwick and the Lord Cobham returned to the prince, and presented to him the French king: the prince made lowly reverence to the king, and caused wine and spices to be brought forth, and himself served the king in sign of great love.

Thus this battle was discomfited, as ye have heard, the which was in the fields of Maupertuis, a two leagues from Poitiers, the 12th day of September, in the year of our Lord 1357.* It began in the morning and ended at noon, but as then all the Englishmen were not returned from the chase; therefore the prince's banner stood on a bush to draw all his men together, but it was nigh night ere all came from the chase. And, as it was reported, there was slain all the flower of France, and there was taken with the king and the Lord Philip his son, a seventeen counts, besides barons, knights, and squires, and slain a five or six thousand of one and other.

When every man was come from the chase, they

* Sic in orig.—but the real date of the battle is 1356.

had twice as many prisoners as they were in number in all; then it was counselled among them that because of the great charge and doubt to keep so many, that they should put many of them to ransom incontinent in the field, and so they did; and the prisoners found the Englishmen and Gascons right courteous. There were many that day put to ransom and let go, all only on their promise of faith and truth to return again, between that and Christmas, to Bordeaux with their ransom. Then that night they lay in the field, beside whereas the battle had been: some unarmed them, but not all, and unarmed their prisoners, and every man made good cheer to his prisoner; for that day whosoever took any prisoner he was clear his, and he might quit or ransom him at his pleasure. All such as were there with the prince were all made rich with honour and goods, as well as by ransoming of prisoners, as by winning of gold, silver, plate, jewels, that was there found; there was no man that did set any thing by rich harness, whereof there was great plenty: for the Frenchmen came thither richly beseen, thinking to have had the journey for them.

When Sir James Audley was brought to his lodging, then he sent for Sir Peter Audley his brother, and for the Lord Bartholomew of Burghersh, the Lord Stephen of Cossington, the Lord Willoughby d'Eresby, and the Lord Ralph Ferrers; all these were of his lineage: and then he called before them his four squires, that had served him that day well and truly; then he said to the said lords, "Sirs, it hath pleased my lord the prince to give me five hundred marks of revenues by year in heritage, for the which gift I have done him but small service here with my body. Sirs, behold here these four squires, who have always served

me truly (and specially this day); that honour that I have is by their valiantness; wherefore I will reward them. I give and resign into their hands the gift that my lord the prince hath given me of five hundred marks of yearly revenues to them and to their heirs for ever, in like manner as it was given me. I clearly disinherit me thereof, and inherit them without any rebell or condition." The lords and other that were there, every man beheld other, and said among themselves, "It cometh of a great nobleness to give this gift:" they answered him with one voice, "Sir, be it as God will. We shall bear witness in this behalf wheresoever we become." Then they departed from him, and some of them went to the prince, who the same night would make a supper to the French king, and to the other prisoners, for they had then enough to do with all of that the Frenchmen brought with them, for the Englishmen wanted victual before, for some in three days before had no bread.

The same day of the battle, at night, the prince made a supper in his lodging to the French king, and to the most part of the great lords that were prisoners; —the prince made the king, and his son, the Lord James of Bourbon, the Lord John d'Artois, the Count of Tancarville, the Count d'Estampes, the Count Dammartyn, the Count of Graville, and the Lord of Pertney, to sit all at one board, and other lords, knights, and squires, at other tables; and always the prince served before the king, as humbly as he could, and would not sit at the king's board, for any desire that the king could make; but he said he was not sufficient to sit at the table with so great a prince as the king was [8]: but then he said to the king, "Sir, for God's sake, make none evil nor heavy cheer though

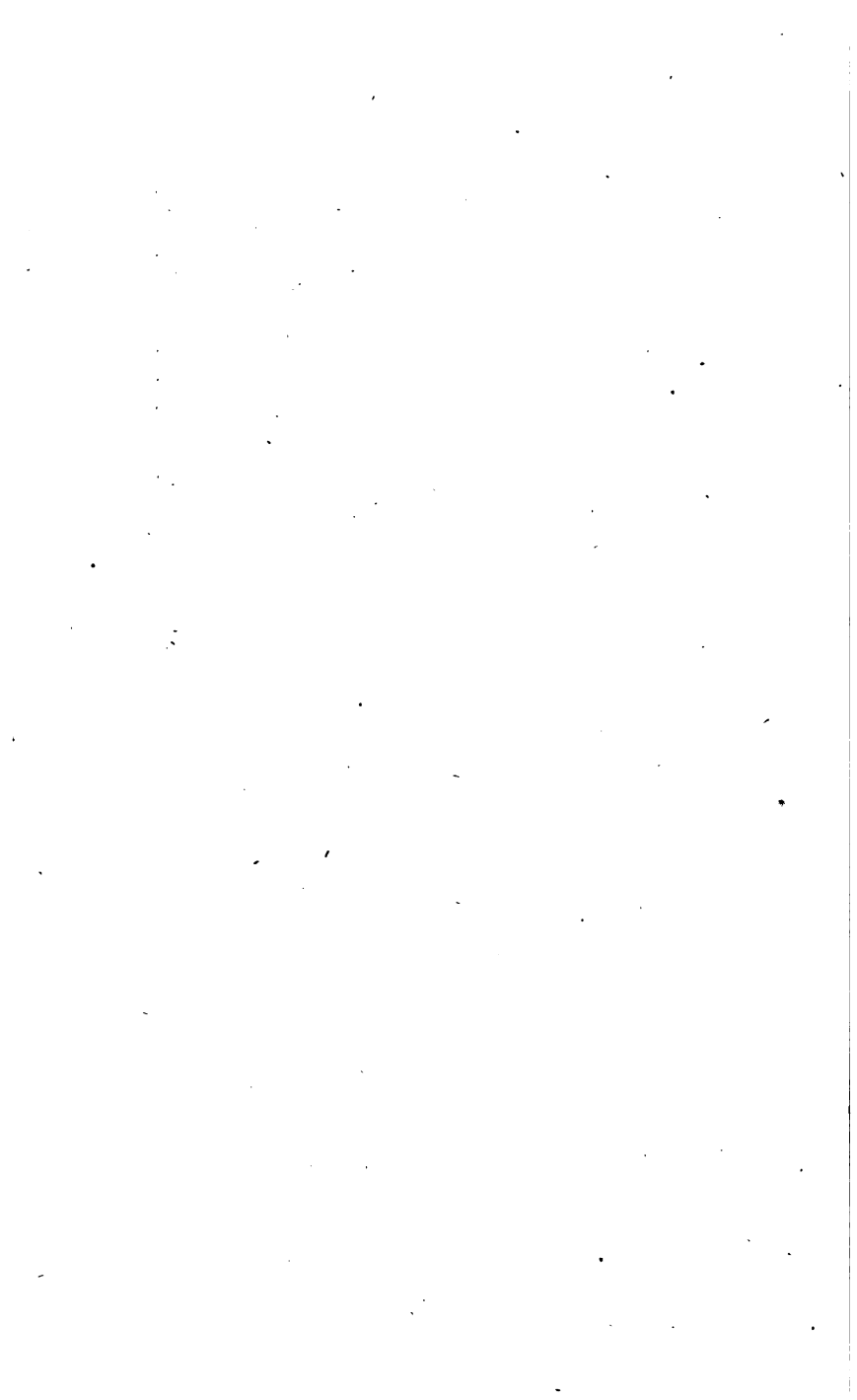
God did not this day consent to follow your will; for surely the king my father shall bear you as much honour and amity as he may do, and shall accord with you so reasonably, that ye shall 'ever be friends together after; and, Sir, methink ye ought to rejoice, though the journey be not as ye would have had it: for this day ye have won the high renown of prowess, and have past this day, in valiantness, all other of your party; Sir, I say not this to mock you, for all that be on our part that saw every man's deeds, are plainly accorded by true sentence to give you the prize and the chaplet."

Therewith the Frenchmen began to murmur and said among themselves, how the prince had spoken nobly, and that by all estimation he should prove a noble man, if God send him life, and to persevere on such good fortune.

When supper was done, every man went to his lodging with their prisoners: the same night they put many to ransom, and believed them on their faiths and troths, and ransomed them but easily, for they said they would set no knight's ransom so high but he might pay at his ease, and maintain still his degree. The next day, when they had heard mass, and took some repast, and that every thing was trussed and ready, then they took their horses and rode towards Poitiers. The same night there was come to Poitiers the Lord of Roy with a hundred spears. He was not at the battle, but he met the Duke of Normandy near to Chauvigny, and the duke sent him to Poitiers, to keep the town, till they heard other tidings. When the Lord of Roy knew that the Englishmen were so near coming to the city he caused every man to be armed, and every man to go to his defence to the walls, and towers and gates;

and the Englishmen passed by without any approaching, for they were so laded with gold, silver, and prisoners, that in their returning they assaulted no fortress. They thought it a great deed if they might bring the French king, with their other prisoners, and the riches they had won, in safeguard to Bordeaux. They rode but small journeys, because of their prisoners and great carriages that they had; they rode in a day no more but four or five leagues, and lodged ever betimes, and rode close together in good array. And thus they came to Bordeaux. [9]

END OF THE BATTLE OF POITIERS.



NOTES
TO THE
BATTLE OF POITIERS.

[1] "*The Battle of Poitiers*;" (title) p. 45.

ALTHOUGH the battle of Poitiers is a portion of our history very generally and intimately known,—I have been induced to cull this account of it as one of the "Stories from the Old Chroniclers," on account of its being as vivid and picturesque a piece of description as, perhaps, ever was written. Froissart had a faculty of being peculiarly graphic in his representations both of place and of action; and he has exerted it to a remarkable degree in his narrative of this memorable event. Besides, the details of so important a battle well deserve to be minutely known; and those of *this* battle are far more interesting than the common incidents of an ordinary engagement.

[2] *The Duke Charles of Normandy; the Lord Louis, that from henceforth was Duke of Anjou; and the Lord John, Duke of Berri; and the Lord Philip, who was after Duke of Burgundy*; p. 47.

OF these four sons of John, King of France, all, except the Duke of Berri, were the founders of the independent

branches of the house of Valois. Charles was the first son of France who bore the title of Dauphin. The province of Dauphiny became annexed to the crown of France by the following means. The last dauphin of the house of La Tour du Pin, Humbert II., being inconsolable for the loss of his only son, determined to retire from the world; and, in consequence, sold his territories to Philip de Valois, in 1343, which transfer he confirmed by a subsequent treaty passed in the following year. These instruments were finally recognized and completed in 1349—when Humbert, having, in the mean while, been consoled by the great consoler, Time, wished to revoke the acts by which he had alienated his dominions, and to form a second marriage with Joan of Bourbon. Philip de Valois, however, not liking to lose his hold of so rich a possession, married the lady to his grandson Charles, named in the text. Humbert then retired into the order of St. Dominic,—and ratified the previous cession. In the first grant of 1343, the prince named by Humbert as Dauphin was the second son of Philip—but, at the marriage of Charles with Joan of Bourbon, the title was conferred upon him; and it has ever since been borne by the eldest son of the King of France. From Charles V., surnamed the Wise, descended the branch of Valois which filled the French throne till its extinction in the person of Henry III. in 1589.

Louis of Anjou was the founder of the second house of Anjou of Naples. He was adopted by the celebrated Joan of Naples—solely in consequence, it would seem, of his bearing the title of Anjou; and thus forming, as it were, a second source to the elder house of Anjou descended from Charles, brother of St. Louis. Louis of

Anjou, however, was less fortunate than his predecessor ; for he failed in acquiring possession of the throne, and left only an empty title to his posterity. The transference of this title, by Regnier, last of the line, to Charles VIII. occasioned the celebrated invasion of Naples by the latter prince ;—which is the great well-spring and fountain-head of all modern politics,—down to the French Revolution.

Philip, the fourth and favourite son of John, was invested by him with the duchy of Burgundy, in 1363—and was the founder of the second race of Dukes of Burgundy. The extinction of that race is treated of in the last story of these volumes, under the title of “The Last Days of Charles the Bold.” Philip, who also was surnamed the Bold, was taken prisoner with his father, at the battle of Poitiers, being then only fourteen years old. It is related of him, that one day, when the French and English kings were at table together, the sewer gave to drink to Edward first ; on which Philip struck him, exclaiming, “Where didst thou learn to serve the vassal before the lord ?” Edward looked at him, for a moment, in amazement, and then contented himself with saying, “Truly, you are Philip the Bold.”

Some further account of these princes will be found in the fifth Note to the Story intituled “The Court of the Count of Foix,” Vol. II.

[3] *The King of Navarre* ; p. 47.

CHARLES, called the Bad, King of Navarre, and Count of Eyreux, was one of the most figuring persons of this age. He was the grandson of Louis Hutin, by Jane, his

daughter; his father was Philip, Count of Evreux. Through him he inherited the county of Evreux; through his mother, the kingdom of Navarre. It will have been seen, in the Notice prefixed to this story, that he possessed a title to the crown of France preferable to that of Edward III., on the principle of succession laid down by the latter. It never, however, was seriously insisted upon—but was only brought forward occasionally, for purposes of the moment;—as when some of the Companions, in order to preserve their footing in France, which they called “their chamber,” declared they were in arms for the title of the King of Navarre, and refused to disband themselves at the bidding of Edward III.

Charles the Bad was bad enough certainly; but I doubt whether he was much worse than many of his contemporaries, who have come down to posterity in possession of much fairer fame. Gaston de Foix [see first story in Vol. II.] murdered his cousin, under the most aggravated circumstances of treachery and cruelty. He also murdered his son; and yet he is always represented as the very pink of knighthood. Charles the Bad certainly committed his share of murders also; and this seems to have been the approved fashion of the time, for which nobody is reproved but him and Peter the Cruel. These two princes are in the situation of *flogging-boys* to the other worthies of the period. They are, with a few honourable exceptions, equally blood-thirsty, lying, treacherous, rapacious and cruel—but the historians punish nobody but the two Kings of Navarre and of Castile. Charles, it is evident, was exceedingly clever, active, and intriguing—and did not pique himself on being a whit more true to his faith than was the mode of the times;

but I question whether he deserved to be emphatically styled *the* Bad more than three out of the four princes named in the last note; or, indeed, than the great majority of *chevaliers sans peur et sans reproche* of that most knightly era. Some further account of him, as well as a genealogy of the House of Navarre, will be found in Note [6] to the Black Prince in Spain.

[4] *Then the Captal de Buch, Sir Aymenon of Pamiers, the Lord Bartholomew of Burghersh, and the Lord Eustace d'Auberticourt; p. 49.*

This list of names serves to shew incidentally in what great proportion the Gascons entered into the composition of the army of the Black Prince at Poitiers—a fact which our national vanity is apt to throw into the shade, but which, for the sake of fairness, ought duly to be called to mind. The Captal de Buch* was one of the most celebrated knights of the period. In almost every action—whether battle or siege—his name stands distinguished. During the excesses of the *Jacquerie*, he and the Count de Foix,—of whom there is ample mention in the next volume,—rescued the Dauphiness and her court from the

* “The title of *Captal* was anciently assumed by some of the most illustrious lords of Aquitaine. It appears that it was originally equivalent to that of Count, and implied even a superiority, as is shewn by the signification of the word *Capitalis*, principal chief. This dignity, originally personal like all others, became, subsequently, attached to families, and to the lands which they possessed. In the time of the first dukes of Aquitaine, there were several Captals; but this title, apparently neglected, was replaced by others; so that towards the 14th century there were already only two Captals known, those of Buch and of Trene.”—*Villaret*, Tom. V.

infuriated people at Meaux—in which place they had taken shelter. The exceeding distresses consequent upon the English wars in France, at last drove the people beyond all patience, and goaded them into an excess of fury which knew no bounds, and respected no persons. The fields were laid waste by the armies; the soldiery individually harried and pillaged the people. Thence they were starving—not figuratively speaking, but literally. Starvation produced its usual effect—insurrection and outrage. Under these circumstances the following events took place. They belong to a date slightly later than that of the battle of Poitiers; but they arose in direct consequence of these wars; and the narrative will serve to illustrate the character of the Captal de Buch. It is to be observed that Froissart, with the eminently aristocratic tone of feeling of the period, treats the insurgent people as mere swine, who ought to be too happy to be deprived even of their husks, on the behalf of their lords and masters! Thank heaven! this, among other opinions of the 14th century, is obsolete.

“In the season when these ungracious people* reigned, there came out of Prussia the Count of Foix, and the Captal de Buch, his cousin. And in their way they heard, as they entered into France, of the great mischief that fell among the noblemen by these unhappy people. And in the city of Meaux was the Duchess of Normandy [the Dauphiness] and the Duchess of Orleans, and a three hundred other ladies and damosels, and the Duke

* The insurgent population of Paris and its environs, headed by the provost of Merchants, and instigated (as it is alleged) by Charles the Bad, who was always peculiarly popular among the lower orders.—ED.

of Orleans also. Then the said two knights agreed to go and see these ladies, and to comfort them to their powers. Howbeit the Capital was English [*i. e.* attached to the English party], but, as then, it was truce between the two kings. They had in their company a threescore spears. And when they were come to Meaux, in Brie, they were welcome to the ladies and damosels there. And when those of the Jacquerie understood that there was at Meaux such a number of ladies, young damosels, and noble children,—then they assembled together, and with them they of Valois; and so came to Meaux. And also certain of Paris that heard thereof went to them, so that they were in all a nine thousand; and daily more resorted to them. So they came to the gates of Meaux, and the people of the town opened the gates, and suffered them to enter, so that all the streets were full of them to the market-place. Whereas the noble ladies were lodged in a strong place, closed about with the river of Marne, there came such a number against them, that the ladies were sore afraid. Then these two knights and their company came to the gate of the market-place, and issued out, and set on these villains, who were but evil-armed,—the Count of Foix's banner, and the Duke of Orleans', and the Capital's pennon. And, when these villains saw these men of war, well apparelled, issued out to defend the place, the foremost of them began to recule back, and the gentlemen pursued them with their spears and swords. And, when they felt the great strokes, they reculed all at once, and fell, for haste, each on other. Then all the noblemen issued out of the barriers, and anon won the place, and entered in among their enemies, and beat them down by heaps, and slew them like beasts,

and cleared them all out of the town, and slew so many they were weary, and made many of them, by heaps, fly into the river. Briefly, that day they slew of them more than seven thousand, and none had escaped, if they would have followed the chace any farther. And when these men of arms returned again to the town, they set thereon fire, and burned it clean, and all the villains of the town that they could close therein [!], because they took part with the Jacquerie. After this discomfiture, thus done at Meaux, they never assembled again together after: for the young Ingram, Lord de Coucy, had about him certain men of war, and they ever slew them, as they might meet with them, without any mercy."

[5] *The king called to him the Lord Eustace Ribeaumont ;*
p. 51.

This was the knight with whom Edward III. fought hand to hand, when serving as a simple volunteer, on the night of the 31st December, 1348, under the banner of Sir Walter Manny, at the gates of Calais. Ribeaumont was taken prisoner; the conduct of Edward afterwards, in the castle at supper, is well known. He took a chaplet of pearls from his own head, and, placing it upon that of Ribeaumont, said to him, "Sir Eustace, I bestow this present upon you, as a testimony of my esteem for your bravery; and I desire you to wear it for my sake. I know you to be gay and amorous, and to take delight in the company of ladies and damsels: let them all know from what hand you had the present. You are no longer a prisoner; I acquit you of your ransom; and you are at liberty to dispose of yourself tomorrow as you think fit."

Sir Walter Manny, whom Edward honoured to the degree of serving under his banner, was a knight of Hainault, who originally came to England with Queen Philippa. After the king himself, and his gallant son, he ranked, with Chandos and Du Guesclin, among the first commanders of that warlike age.

[6] *So it fortune'd that the Lord John Chandos ; p. 55.*

Sir John, afterwards Lord, Chandos was one of the very most distinguished of the English commanders during these wars. He seems to have been nearly always attached to the Black Prince, who made him Constable of Guienne, and Seneschal of Poitou, after the peace of Bretigny. He shared the glories of the Spanish campaign ; and was, as the reader will see, peculiarly distinguished at the battle of Najara. Chandos appears also to have been singularly popular and beloved in the army. He was killed in a skirmish after the renewal of the war by Charles V. There is a very spirited and even touching account of his death given by Froissart in his Second Book. It is too long to extract ; but I cannot resist copying the elegiac summary which the Chronicler gives of his character. It is equally honourable to Chandos, and illustrative of Froissart's most highly-wrought manner :—

“ The barons and knights of Poitou were sore discomforted, when they saw their seneschal, Sir John Chandos, lie on the earth, and could not speak. Then they lamentably complained, and said, ‘ Ah ! Sir John Chandos, the flower of all chivalry ! unhappily was that glaive forged that thus hath wounded you, and brought

you in peril of death !' They wept piteously that were about him, and he heard and understood them well, but he could speak no word. They wrung their hands, and tore their hairs, and made many a pitiful complaint, and especially such as were of his own house. Then his servants unarmed him, and laid him on palliasses, and so bare him softly to Mortimer, the next fortress to them. And the other barons and knights returned to Poitiers, and led with them their prisoners. And, as I understand, the same Jaques Martin, that thus hurt Sir John Chandos, was so little taken heed to of his hurts, that he died at Poitiers. And this noble knight, Sir John Chandos, lived not, after his hurt, past a day and a night, but so died. God have mercy on his soul ! For, in a hundred year after, there was not a more courteous, nor more fuller of noble virtues, and good conditions, among the Englishmen than he was. And when the Prince and Princess, the Earl of Cambridge, the Earl of Pembroke, and other barons and knights of England, such as were in Guienne, heard of his death, they were all discomfited, and said that they had lost all on that side of the sea. For his death, his friends, and also some of his enemies, were right sorrowful. The Englishmen loved him, because all nobleness was found in him. The Frenchmen hated him because they doubted him. Yet I heard his death greatly complained of among right noble and valiant knights of France, saying that it was a great damage of his death. For, they said, better had it been that he had been taken alive. For, if he had been taken alive, they said, he was so sage and so imaginative, that he would have found some manner of good means whereby the peace might have ensued between the realms of

England and France ; for he was so well beloved of the King of England, that the king would believe him rather than any other in the world. Thus both French and English spake of his death ; and specially the Englishmen—for by him Guienne was kept and recovered."

[7] "*Took to their horses and departed, he that might best ;*" p. 61.

This flight of the Dauphin's division has been attributed to the over-anxiety of the lords, into whose charge he had been given, for the person of the prince. It is certain that they were the first that fled outright ; and thereby not only weakened the army to the extent of their very considerable number, but also spread the contagion of panic throughout it. The excellence of the English archers is too well known to need comment in this place. They contributed mainly to the acquisition of this great victory.

[8] "*And always the prince served before the king, as humbly as he could ; and would not sit at the king's board, for any desire that the king could make ; but he said he was not sufficient to sit at the table with so great a prince as the king was.*" p. 75.

This is one of the favourite incidents of English history, on which we are always taught to dwell with delight, from our first acquaintance with any history at all, in the shape of "picture books," and royal games at tetotum. It "points a moral and adorns a tale" more

universally than almost any other historic incident; and is placed in the same rank with the continence of Scipio, and (what is a higher and nobler action than any of the kind on record) Henri Quatre supplying the famishing inhabitants of besieged Paris with food. But I confess this scrupulosity of court etiquette—as well as the parading the French King through the streets of London on a conspicuous charger, while the Black Prince ambled on a pad-nag by his side,—has always appeared to me to be a sample of that which we are told is the devil's "favourite vice,"—

"The pride that apes humility."

The quarrel in which Edward was fighting was, that John was not king of France at all; and, although the moment of his capture was certainly not the time ostentatiously to recall that fact, yet I cannot but think it should have had some weight in inducing the prince to abstain from what, under the circumstances, was little better than a polite mockery. Courtesy, respect, and kindness of demeanour, as much as he pleased; but this over-strained obsequiousness was almost as bad as a lack of due deference and civility.

The procession through the streets of London, on the royal prisoner landing in England, is a still stronger instance of the same feeling. It evinced all the pride and ostentation of a Roman triumph, disguised in the trappings of moderation and humility. The higher the captive was made to appear, the higher it placed the captor; and the cheap bait of reverence and lowliness of manner was, above all things, likely to catch the popular taste of the times. I confess I can never

see the peculiar merit of either of these celebrated passages.

[9] *And thus they came to Bordeaux. p. 77.*

The consequences of the battle of Poitiers were most extensive and important. It may be said to have decided the fate of the war. Besides the king being made prisoner, the total dispersion of his army prevented any effectual resistance being offered by the French afterwards. The distresses of the kingdom, also, now reached their height—the excesses that arose from which again reproduced the want and misery out of which they had sprung. The Dauphin, whose future reign was to prove so glorious and so beneficial to France, was still very young, and had the most unprecedented difficulties to contend with.

The captivity of the king was the climax to the misfortunes of the French. His absence, if it did not cause, at the least gave encouragement to, the anarchy which existed in his country; and the necessity of his ransom highly aggravated the conditions of peace. That peace (of Bretigny) forms a capital epoch in these wars. I have already spoken of it in the essay prefixed to this story; I shall conclude my notes to it, by a recapitulation of the chief articles of the treaty:—

Edward III. ceded to John the title of King of France, and renounced all claim to it himself. He restored John to liberty.

John ceded to Edward, in full sovereignty, Guienne, Gascony, Saintonge, Limousin, Perigord, Rouergue, Quercy, the Angoumois, Poitou, the territory of Aunis,

the Boulonnais, the counties of Ponthieu, of Montreuil, and of Guisnes, and the town of Calais.

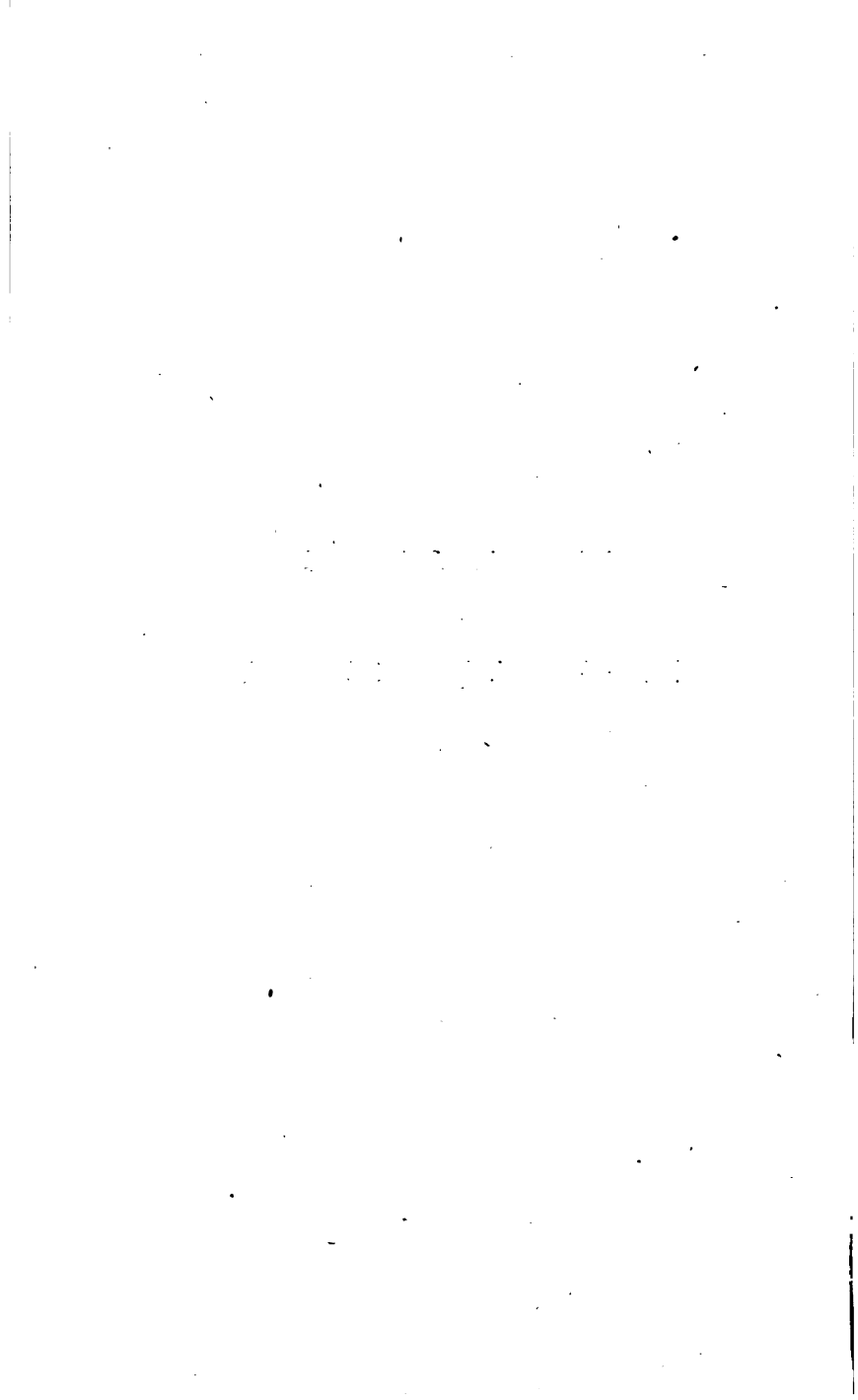
He agreed to pay three millions of crowns of gold for his ransom.

Such were the conditions of the peace of Bretigny, commonly called the Great Peace. To this, during the subsequent wars, the English constantly appealed; until the treaty of Troyes,* by giving the whole kingdom to Henry V., superseded the act by which a portion of it had been transferred to his predecessor.

* A. D. 1420.

END OF THE NOTES TO THE BATTLE OF
POITIERS.

HISTORICAL NOTICE
OF
PETER THE CRUEL.



HISTORICAL NOTICE
OF
PETER OF CASTILE, CALLED THE CRUEL.

[BEING INTRODUCTORY TO THE STORY OF
"THE BLACK PRINCE IN SPAIN."]

THE remarkable expedition of the Black Prince into Spain, of which the following story contains an account, was undertaken for the purpose of restoring Peter to the throne of Castile; I am therefore induced to preface that narrative by some notice of the causes which led to his expulsion, and of his life and character more generally.

Alonzo, or (as he is more frequently called) Alphonso XI. King of Castile, died in the year 1350, when his son Peter was only fifteen years of age. He succeeded, however, to the throne—and was, during the earlier part of his reign, naturally very much guided by the influence of his mother. Both his talents and his courage appear to have been considerable, even at that early age. Mariana, in speaking of him, says, “His age was unfit for government, but his forward wit promised well. He was fair of complexion, had an agreeable face, with much majesty, a great heart for difficult attempts, and would undergo any labour. He loved hawking above all other sports, and

was rigid in administering justice. Among these virtues some vices began to appear,—as pride, and passion, in his youth; afterwards he added avarice and incontinency.”

The very opening of his reign was marked by those troubles which distinguished its whole course, arising, also, from the same source from which they throughout continued to spring. Alphonso XI. left a large family of natural children. By one lady, Eleanor de Guzman, he had four sons, Henry, Count of Trastamare; Frederick, Master of Santiago; Ferdinand, Lord of Ledesma; and Tello, Lord of Aguilar. Besides these, there were three others, Sancho, John, and Peter. Eleanor de Guzman and the queen-mother naturally hated each other; and their sons, respectively, espoused their quarrel. The first seditions which occurred on Peter's accession, terminated in the subjection of the Bastards' party, and the execution of Eleanor. The sons fled away into various strong places in different parts of the kingdom.

In the next year, however, 1351, the King of Portugal persuaded Peter to pardon his brother Henry. But the reconciliation was of no permanence. The king having gone into Andalusia, to quell some disturbances which had arisen among the turbulent nobles, Henry took advantage of his absence to break out into insurrection, in the Asturias. He and his brother Tello threw themselves into the town of Gijon, and drew around them a considerable army. Peter immediately retraced his steps, and proceeded to put down

the rebellion excited by his brothers. He invested Gijon, which he reduced, after a short siege. The garrison obtained the terms of pardon for themselves, and for Henry of Transtamare, who had taken refuge in the mountains.

The expedition into the Asturias was remarkable for its having given rise to the connection of the king with Donna Maria de Padilla—a circumstance which had such strong influence upon his future fortunes. This celebrated lady was a young person of good family, who was brought up in the house of Don Alonzo d'Albuquerque, who had been the king's governor—and, at this time, had become his chief minister and favourite. It appears, however, that Albuquerque always opposed the king's intimacy with Donna Maria. He had already caused him to be betrothed to Blanch of Bourbon, whose name has become so celebrated in history for her undoubted misfortunes, not to mention her alleged crimes. The uncle of Donna Maria de Padilla appears to have been instrumental in establishing his niece as Pedro's *maitresse en titre*—for such she was, whether or not the subsequent story of a private marriage were true.

After having quieted the northern part of his dominions, Peter returned into Andalusia; where, after a siege of four months, he reduced Aguilar, the chief fortress of the insurgents in that quarter. Don Alonzo Coronel, their chief leader, and five of his companions, were executed—the town was dismantled—and, after these examples of severity, the king pardoned the rest.

In the spring of 1353, Blanch of Bourbon arrived at Valladolid. Albuquerque, whose power had now risen to its zenith, pressed the king to conclude his marriage immediately. It is supposed that he feared that the influence of Donna Maria would supersede his,—as, indeed, happened eventually,—and that, therefore, he was anxious for Pedro to contract the new ties, which he hoped might weaken those which now bound him. After some delays, the marriage was solemnized on the 3rd of June. The king, however, did not long remain with his bride; for, in two days after the celebration of his nuptials, he left her, to return to Donna Maria. This matter is variously represented; the great majority of writers, following the side of ultimate success, paint every action of Pedro's in the worst colours, and attribute them to the worst motives. Thus, throughout his conduct towards his queen, of which the opposite faction made so powerful an instrument, they describe him as deserting a most meritorious and amiable princess, in consequence of the infatuated passion he felt towards his mistress. But, on the other hand, it is stated, that, on his arrival at Valladolid, the king found cause to suspect his bride's truth, and to believe that she had favoured Frederick, the Master of Santiago, his bastard brother, who had been sent to meet the queen on the frontiers of Spain, and had conducted her to his brother's court. It is impossible, at this distance of time, with so great a lack of materials, to draw an accurate judgment of the real state of the case. But there is much reason to suppose, from

subsequent circumstances, that the queen regarded the Master of Santiago with a favourable eye; and, indeed, Voltaire asserts that the family of Henriquez were accustomed to boast of being descended from this incestuous commerce. At the same time, the extreme affection that Pedro bore to Maria de Padilla would, of itself, be sufficient to account for his constant coldness towards the queen. With the superstition of that barbarous age, it was believed that the king's conduct arose from his being bewitched by a Jew!

The king fixed his chief residence at Olmedo, while Blanch remained at Medina del Campo. The influence of Maria de Padilla now became supreme. All the nobility, including even the king's brothers, paid to her their court, in the hope of sharing in the offices which were distributed among her friends. Albuquerque was displaced, and his adherents were persecuted. He himself took refuge in Portugal. The Master of Calatrava, Don John Nuñez de Prado, who had been attached to him, and had endeavoured to persuade the king to return to his wife, fled into Arragon. From hence he was induced to return, by kind letters from Pedro; but no sooner had he come to Almagro (the chief town of the order) than he was arrested by Don Juan de la Cerda, and shortly after put to death. Don James de Padilla, Donna Maria's brother, was made master in his room, being the first instance of a married man enjoying that dignity. It seems doubtful whether this act of treachery was meditated by Peter: Mariana says, "the king seemed

sorry for his death; but nobody being questioned, it was concluded to be done by his command,—and truly the deduction is not very unreasonable.

In the meantime the queen was removed to Arevalo, and placed, to a certain degree, in confinement, under the guardianship of Gudiel, Bishop of Segovia, and Tello Palomeque, a gentleman of Toledo. She was forbidden to have intercourse with any of the nobility, and even with the queen-mother; from which it would seem that Pedro already dreaded her becoming the ostensible head of the party who so constantly opposed him. Albuquerque, meanwhile, had entered into alliances with the Bastards of Spain; and they carried their intrigues so far as to offer the crown of Castile to the Prince of Portugal, as the price of his assistance in a meditated revolt. The king, his father, however, was offended at this proposal, and the plan in consequence fell to the ground.

Whilst these perpetual plots and rebellions were going on around him, Peter was engaged in an affair which, in whatever point of view it is considered, is equally criminal and extraordinary. About this time (1354) it would seem that he became attracted by the beauty of Donna Joanna de Castro, the widow of Don James de Haro. This lady's conduct was so strict, and her virtue was esteemed so firm, that the king, despairing of procuring her as a mistress, offered (strange as it may appear) to marry her; and, what is stranger still, actually did so. The Bishops of Avila and Salamanca, on the king laying the matter

before them, solemnly adjudged that he was in no way bound by his former marriage, and he accordingly immediately wedded the object of this new, violent, and transitory passion. That it was violent is apparent, from his taking such extraordinary means to gratify it—and that it was transitory is established by the fact of his abandoning this unfortunate woman within a very few days after their union. She continued, however, to bear the title of Queen, and subsequently was delivered of a son by Don Pedro, who was called John.

In whatever way we look at this transaction, it is, I think, equally singular and unaccountable. The influence of Donna Maria de Padilla seems not to have been interrupted, and the previous marriage of the king had been in every way of so public and solemn a nature, the party being a princess of the blood royal of France, a formal embassy and regular betrothment having preceded the marriage,—that it would appear to have been beyond the reach of the most servile sycophancy to give a judgment such as that of the two bishops. Not less strange than the whole affair was its conclusion; the king declaring the necessity of his departing to quell a fresh insurrection of his brothers and the queen's party—and going, to return no more!

The fact, however, of a rebellion existing was perfectly true; indeed, the whole reign of Peter was but an alternation of rebellion and momentary quiet. Fearing that the insurgents might possess themselves of the

queen's person, the king sent for her to Toledo. On her arrival there she repaired to the great cathedral, as though to perform her devotions; but no sooner was she within its walls than she refused again to quit it, claiming the sanctuary of so holy a building. In the meantime, Albuquerque returned out of Portugal, and the rebels gathering to a head, found themselves in very considerable force. Emboldened by their strength, they now put forth formal conditions, to which they demanded the king's acceding. The chief of these were, that Donna Maria, her friends, and adherents, should be sent away from court, and that the queen should be received there as became her station.

Before the parties had tried their strength against each other, Albuquerque died. With the suspicion common to the age—a suspicion, the prevalence of which is a sufficient proof of its having frequently grounds of justice—it was asserted that he was poisoned. One Paulo, a Roman doctor, is recorded in history as having been accused of the deed, which he is stated to have committed from the influence of the bribes of the opposite party. Albuquerque, on his death-bed, made a most singular request to the Bastards of Spain—namely, that his body should not be buried, but should be carried about with the insurgent army wherever it went, till the termination of the war, when he consented it should be interred.

Shortly after the death of Albuquerque, the insurgent nobles sent some deputies to treat with the king. Pedro received them at a village near Toro, attended

by fifty horse, as were also the deputed nobles. They addressed the king with the usual marks of respect, kissing his hand according to the custom. One of Pedro's officers, by name Gutierre de Toledo, then addressed them, expressing the king's sorrow at seeing so many men of their rank in rebellion, and offering them free pardon, on condition of their laying down their arms. He also said that the king would comply with their request concerning Queen Blanch, provided they carried their demands no further. To this the nobles, through their spokesman, Ferdinand de Ayala, answered—they apologized very submissively for coming into the royal presence armed—they extolled the virtues and merits of Queen Blanch—and represented the danger to which she was exposed from Donna Maria de Padilla; and they concluded by imploring the king to comfort and protect her, and to prevent the ruin that threatened the kingdom. The conference ended by four persons being appointed on each side to agree upon articles of peace.

The king, however, made so many delays, and showed so unchanged a disposition towards Donna Maria, that the insurgents despaired of a reconciliation. The queen-mother, who had all along been inimical to the faction of the Padillas, now joined the rebels—and delivered up to them the city of Toro. On this, Pedro seems to have been stricken with consternation; for he returned to his mother, and putting himself into her hands, declared his readiness to follow her counsels. For the time, the Bastard faction got the ascendancy.

The whole household of the king was changed, and all the great offices of state were distributed among the successful party. They now buried Albuquerque's body, conceiving the war to be at an end. The king was thus, being surrounded by his enemies, in a sort of honourable captivity—and it is evident he so considered it, for he took the pretence of a hunting-party to escape, and fled to Segovia. Having gained over some of the nobles, he assembled the Cortes at Burgos, who, on his representations of the insolence and turbulence of the nobles, granted him large subsidies, with which he renewed the war with success. On his prevailing, numbers of the rebels were put to death.

It is not my purpose to follow in detail the numerous and complicated commotions of the reign of Peter—it would be alike wearisome from its sameness, and revolting from its atrocity.* I shall confine myself to the two principal points which were urged by Henry of Transtamare, to defend, in the face of Europe, his dethronement of his brother. I allude to his alliances with the Moors, and his alleged murder of his wife.

The kingdoms of Arragon and Castile, being of nearly equal strength and resources, were naturally in

* As a sample:—about this time, Henry of Transtamare, and Don Frederick, the two most prominent of the king's brothers, obtained temporary possession of Toledo. They employed their short-lived power in plundering the Jews, of whom Mariana states a thousand to have been murdered by them. Neither were these princes true to each other and to their cause—for Don Frederick and Don Tello repeatedly went over to King Pedro's party.

a constant state of rivalry; and wars were frequent between them. About the year 1356, a war broke out on the occasion of some disputes at sea, and also of the refusal of the Arragonian knights of Calatrava and Santiago to obey the grand masters of their order in Castile. Both kings being men of fierce and energetic spirits, the war was carried on with great vigour on both sides. Towns were reciprocally taken, and the advantage was alternate. The Arragonese excited the Bastards of Spain to rebel—to which they were always ready and prone—and Don Henry, assisted by prince Ferdinand of Arragon, again broke out into revolt. Don Frederick, who had been re-appointed grand-master of Santiago as the price of his adhesion to the king's party, was suspected of underhand dealings with the enemy, and was put to death in the king's presence at Seville.

Meanwhile the war continued; and both the Kings of Castile and of Arragon applied to the Moors for assistance. Don Pedro received a body of horse from the King of Granada, and the King of Arragon called over the Emperor of Morocco. Pope Innocent complained bitterly, by letter, of this alliance of Christian princes with the infidels; but the offending parties were too much inflamed with mutual animosity to pay any attention to his remonstrances. I am not going to defend or impugn the conduct of Peter in this instance; I merely wish to point out that the King of Arragon was obviously as much in fault (if fault there were) as he;—and yet not only is the Arragonese not blamed

by the writers of that day ; but he is held up, as the reader will see in the first sentences of the following story, as a right worthy and excellent Christian prince. Peter is represented as an infidel and heathen monster for making alliances with *Mahound* ; and one of the chief pretexts for the war engaged in to dethrone him, is that it is an acceptable service to holy church, on account of his friendly intercourse with the Mahometans. And this I take to be a fair sample of the manner in which the historians of that age have treated Peter the Cruel. That he was a man violent and sanguinary is perfectly plain ; but that he was *more so* than the great majority of his contemporaries I am by no means convinced. His punishing his rebellious brothers, who would seem never to have been one moment peaceable throughout his reign, would in others have been treated as righteous justice ; for, to use the words of Mariana, “ the malice of authors, who all humoured the success of Henry the Bastard, caused all crimes to be laid to his predecessor Peter, because he was unfortunate.”

If the prominent historic personages of that day were represented, as they deserve to be, as a set of cheats and cut-throats,—I should not by any means complain of Peter of Castile being included among the number ;—but that he should be singled out to have his crimes held up to the horror of mankind, when others, who, with less provocation, were every jot as bad, are called high, noble, virtuous, and excellent princes, does appear to me so great an act of injustice as to induce

me to discredit, perhaps more than I ought, many of the atrocities laid to his charge. He stands in Spanish history in the position in which Richard III. does in our own. The circumstance of a successful usurper founding a permanent dynasty, is, of all others, likely to give a colour to the statements of historians;—more especially, when there is a real *ground* for them to work upon, as in these two cases.

It comes with but an ill grace from Henry of Trastamare, who murders Jews wholesale, for the sake of their wealth, to accuse his brother of cruelty; and Du Guesclin, his chief captain, arrives from France to punish Peter for his disrespect to Holy Church, having robbed the Pope and the whole college of cardinals on his road!*

With reference to the death of Blanch of Bourbon—it is, I think, impossible to come to a satisfactory conclusion. The king kept her in prison and neglected her—these facts are undoubted. It is alleged that, independently of the inducements arising from his passion for Maria de Padilla, he had just cause for such severity in her criminal intercourse with his brother Don Frederick. The learned authors of *L'Art de Vérifier les Dates* affect to scout this supposition—and attribute its prevalence to the vanity of the family of Henriquez, which induced it to trace its origin to that source. These writers assert that it sprang from the

* An account of this, and of the other chief incidents in the Life of Du Guesclin, will be found in Note [1] to the following story.

commerce of Don Frederick with the Jewess called La Palomba. But they adopt, throughout their account of Don Pedro's reign, the vulgar history of his enormities, without inquiry or doubt; and it is, at least, evident that there must have been a rumour prevalent to the effect of the queen's incontinency, for the Henriquez to be able to ground their genealogy upon it.

Mr. Hallam, also, in his erudite work on the Middle Ages, while he alludes to the doubts suggested by Mariana, as to the accuracy of the common statements with regard to Peter the Cruel, says he can see no just reason to judge charitably of him. But the opinion of Mariana is entitled to great weight: Voltaire seems fully to have concurred in it; and general probability inclines also to that side. It is confessed that Lope de Ayala, from whom the history of his reign is chiefly taken, wrote in a spirit of determined hostility to Peter; everything, then, has been represented in the darkest colours, and, it may be suspected, with the exaggeration of party malice.

With reference to the individual fact I am now discussing, the death, namely, of Blanch of Bourbon, it is to be remarked that the king had no apparent motive sufficiently strong to account for the act. The most obvious would have been the desire to marry Donna Maria de Padilla; but this is refuted by the simple fact that he did not do so,—which tends also to corroborate his declaration of a previous marriage with her. It is true she died shortly after the queen; but she lived long enough for a marriage to have

taken place, if that had been the king's object. The only plausible cause assigned for the destruction of Blanch is, that the nobles of Castile threatened to rise in her defence. But this would have been equally influential at almost any former period of his reign since his marriage. From whence, then, it will be said, arose the report throughout Europe, that Peter had caused his wife to be poisoned? The motives for Henry the Bastard to promulgate this rumour are on the surface—and the circumstance of her dying in prison was, especially in those days, fully sufficient to serve as a foundation for the accusation. It is obvious, however, as Mariana observes, that the manner of the queen's death was by no means certain, as even its place is variously stated by contemporary writers. I do not mean to absolve Don Pedro of this murder; but I am of opinion that there does not exist sufficient evidence to say that he committed it. Though the verdict cannot be "Not guilty," I think it ought in fairness to be "Not proven."

Neither was Peter always leagued with the Saracens; for, after having concluded a peace with Arragon, he engaged in a war with the King of Granada. The Moors were, in the first instance, successful; but, there having arisen a competition for the sovereignty of Granada, the reigning king was abandoned by many of his subjects, and fled to Seville, to place himself under the protection of the King of Castile. Peter put him to death, and sent his body to his competitor, who made peace with him immediately. This action

was sufficiently atrocious ; but it cannot be said to be indicative of peculiar affection for the infidels.

A fresh war soon after broke out against Arragon, in which Navarre formed alliance with Castile. After some successes, Peter returned to Seville, where he convoked the Cortes, and declared publicly before them, that Donna Maria de Padilla was his lawful wife, he having been secretly married to her before Queen Blanch came into Spain. He thus declared his children by her to be legitimate, as this avoided his marriage with Blanch. "On the 17th of October, 1362," says Mariana, "died his son Alonzo, whom he had designed as his heir. On the 18th of November the king made his will, in which he orders himself to be buried with the habit of St. Francis, betwixt Donna Maria de Padilla and his son Alonzo. It appears he was not so remote from godly thoughts as his enemies represent him, though his violent nature often transported him. By this will he appoints his daughters by Donna Maria de Padilla successively, and after them his son John, by the Lady Johanna de Castro. The witnesses he produced of the marriage were of undoubted reputation, such as Don Garcia de Padilla, Master of Calatrava, John Fernandez de Hinestrosa, one John Alfonso de Mayorga, and John Perez, a priest, who all made oath upon the matter."—*Mariana*, b. xvii. chap. 4.

Besides the respectability of the witnesses who attested the king's marriage, the fact of his not having married Donna Maria, after Blanch's death, tends

strongly to advance the belief of this declaration being true. But it would seem that his union with Donna Maria took place after his embassy was gone into France to demand one of the Duke of Bourbon's daughters in marriage, which would partially account for the concealment of the one marriage, and the formation of the other. In the right of Constance, the second daughter of Don Pedro by Maria de Padilla, John of Gaunt, who married her, subsequently claimed the crown of Castile,* and carried on long wars to substantiate his claim. That crown, however, remained in the family of Henry of Transtamare, who evidently had no claim to it but that of successful usurpation.

We now come to the occurrences which form the subject of the following story; and, that I may not anticipate its interest, I shall here close this brief notice. The reader will find the remainder of the story of Don Pedro very animatedly related by Froissart; it would, therefore, be worse than useless to give here an abridgment of the circumstances which he will immediately read in full. For the purpose of tracing the fortunes of Don Pedro to their close, I have continued the story after the title of "The Black Prince in Spain" ceases to be strictly applicable to it; but it would manifestly be incomplete if I were to finish it at the period of the retirement of the Prince's army.

From what I have stated in this notice, and from what appears in the following pages, I think the

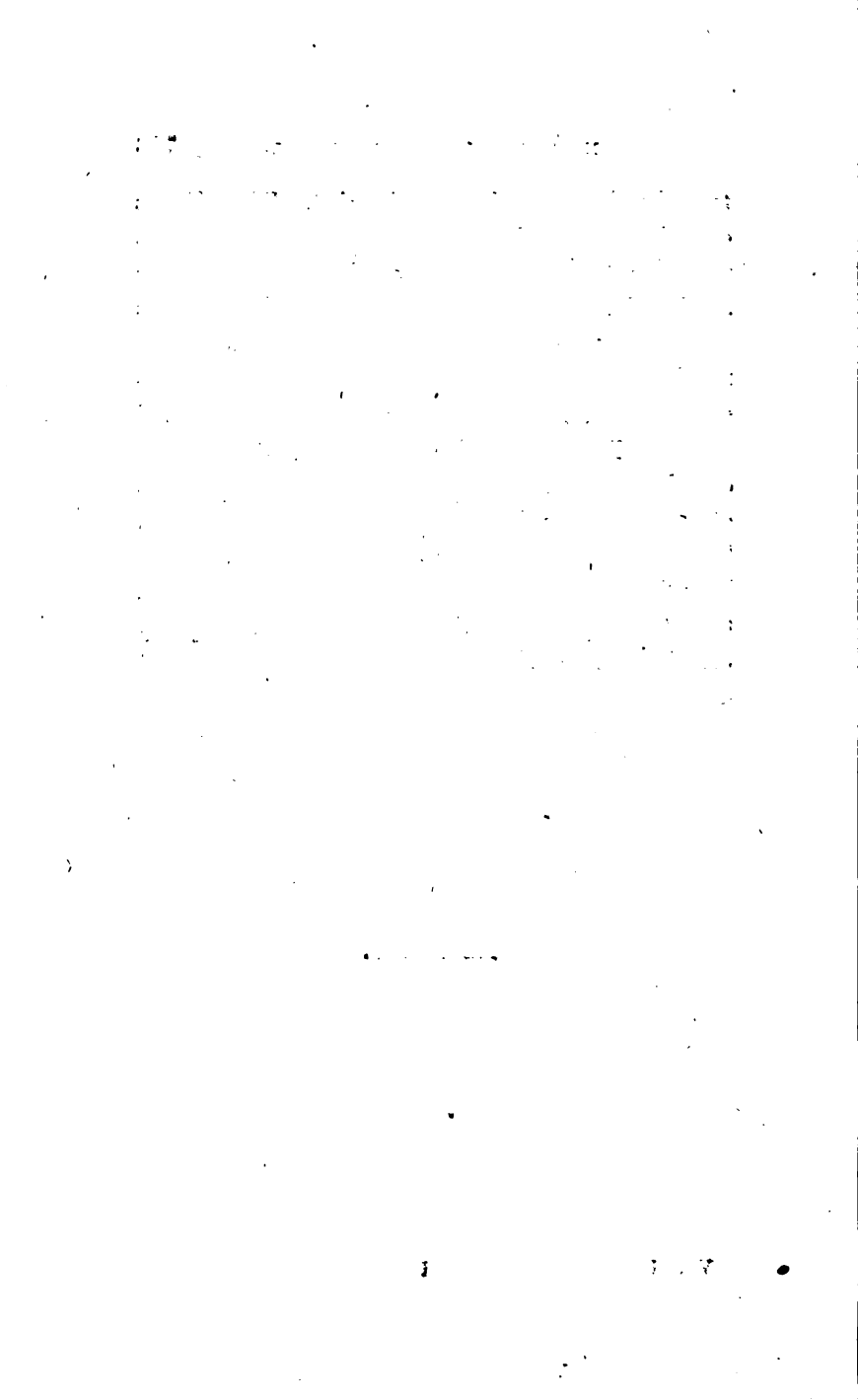
* This subject is more fully noticed in the sketch of the life of John of Gaunt, contained in Note [7] to the following story.

reader will be likely to conclude with me, that the atrocities of Peter of Castile did not so far excel those of the rest of his contemporaries, as fairly to have earned him the distinguishing appellation of the Cruel. His brothers were in constant rebellion against him—they were continually stirring up discontents among his people, and giving every encouragement and aid to his enemies. I do not say that these facts were sufficient, in the least degree, to justify the sanguinary manner in which he revenged himself upon them; but I question very much whether many of his fellow-kings would have acted with greater humanity. Voltaire, as it appears to me, states the case very fairly. “Don Pédre,” he says, “eut à la fois à combattre et les Aragonais et ses frères rebelles. Il fut encore vainqueur, et rendit sa victoire inhumaine. Il ne pardonna guère. Ses proches, qui avaient pris parti contre lui, furent immolés à ses ressentimens. Enfin le grand-maître de Saint-Jacques fut tué par ses ordres. C’est ce que lui mérita le nom de Cruel, tandis que Jean, roi de France, qui avait assassiné son connétable et quatre seigneurs de Normandie, était nommé Jean-le-Bon*.”

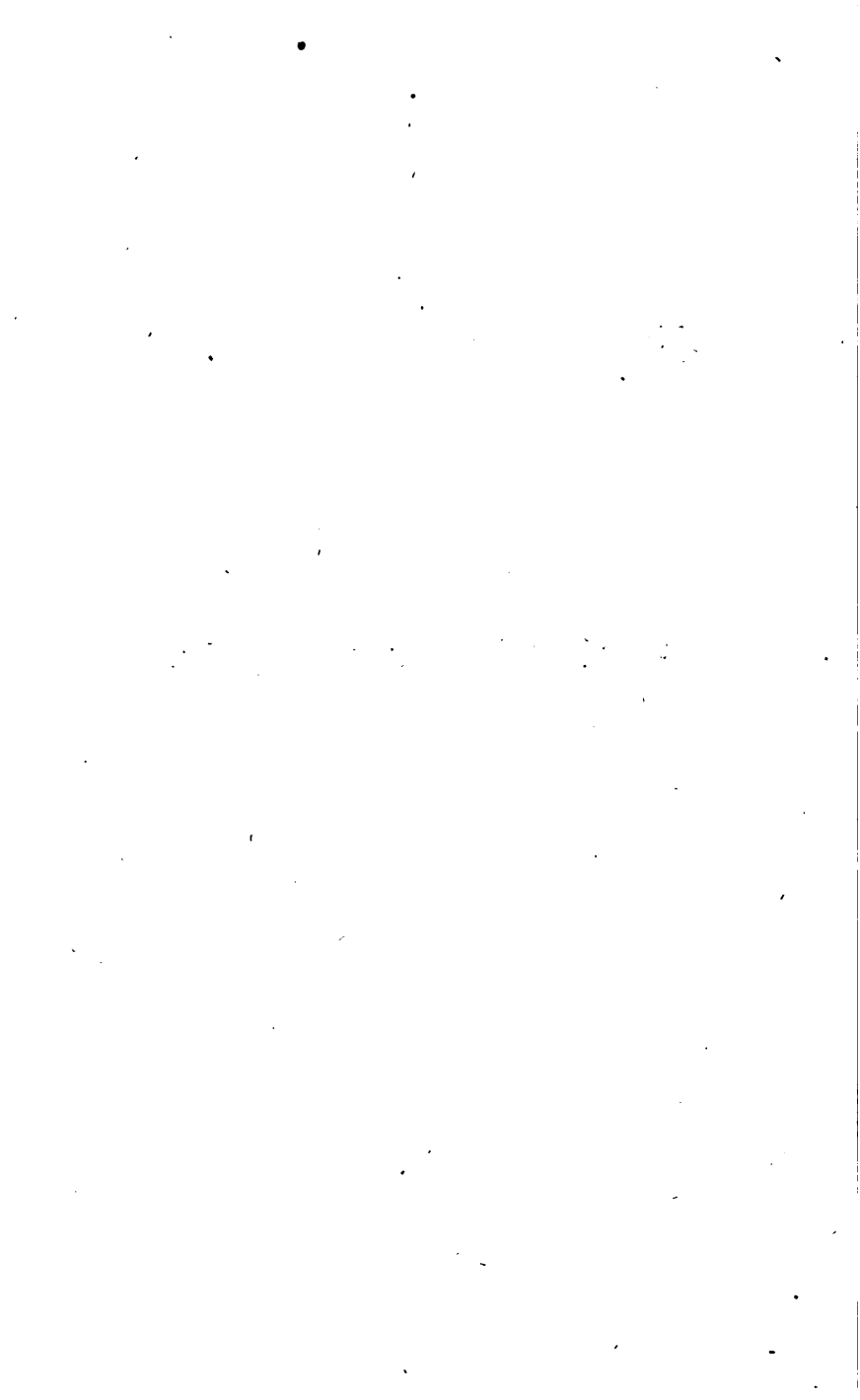
Peter of Castile was, it is evident, a man of strong energies, keen talents, and indomitable courage. Throughout a constant succession of internal rebellions and foreign wars, he was triumphant over his enemies, till the in-coming of Du Guesclin and his Adventurers turned the balance of numbers and of military advan-

* *Essai sur les Mœurs et l'Esprit des Nations*; chap. 77.

tages irresistibly on the opposite side. The offences committed against him were repeated and deadly—his punishment and his revenge of them were merciless and bloody. He was stained, in short, with all the vices of his age; and if they appear more odious in him than in others, it is because they are fully stated in his instance, while, in general, they are slurred over and hidden. It is probable that his portrait is somewhat overcharged, but it is certain that the representations of his contemporaries are far, far too palely coloured. The consequence is, that he alone is singled out to bear the distinguishing title with which, in justice, that knightly era, in the mass, should be equally branded—THE CRUEL.



The Black Prince in Spain.



THE BLACK PRINCE IN SPAIN.

CAP. I.

HOW DON PEDRO, KING OF CASTILE, WAS DETHRONED
BY HIS BROTHER, HENRY THE BASTARD.

A.D. ¹³⁶⁵⁻⁶ IN this season there was a king in Castile, called Don Pedro, who was full of marvellous opinions. And he was rude and rebel against the command of holy church, and had in mind to subdue all his Christian neighbours, kings, and princes. And more especially he bore ill will towards Pedro, King of Arragon, who was a good true Christian prince, and had as then taken from him part of his realm, and looked shortly to have had the remnant. Now this king, Don Pedro of Castile, had three bastard brethren—the eldest called Henry, the second Don Tello, and the third Sanchez. This king Don Pedro hated them so, that he would not suffer them to come into his sight, and often times, if he might have gotten them, he would have stricken off their heads. Howbeit they were well-beloved of the king their father, and in his life he gave to Henry the eldest the county of Transtamare; but this king, Don Pedro his brother, had taken it from him, and therefore they kept daily war together.

This Henry was a right hardy and a valiant knight, and had been long in France, and pursued the war there, and served the French king, who loved him right entirely. King Don Pedro, as the common bruit ran, had put to death the mother of the children, wherewith they were right sore displeased, and good cause why. Also beside, he had put to death and exile divers great lords of the realm of Castile; he was so cruel, and so without shame, that all his men feared, hated, and doubted him as much as they durst. Also he caused to die a right good and a holy lady, the which he had to wife, called the Lady Blanch, daughter to Duke Peter of Bourbon, and sister-german to the French queen. Now this lady's death was right displeasing to all her lineage, the which lineage was one of the noblest of the world. And besides all this, there ran a bruit of him among his own men that he was amicably allied with the King of Grenada, and with two other kings, who were all God's enemies and infidels. Wherefore some of his own men began to fear that he would do some hurt to his own country, as in violation of God's churches, for he began already to take from them their rents and revenues, and held some of their prelates in prison, and constrained them by tyranny. Of this great complaints came daily to our holy father the Pope, requiring him to find some remedy. To these complaints the pope condescended, and sent, incontinent, messages into Castile to the king Don Pedro, commanding him, incontinent, without any delay, personally to come to the court of Rome, to wash, cleanse, and purge him of such villain deeds as he was guilty in. Howbeit this king Don Pedro, full of pride and presumptuousness, would not obey nor come there, but dealt shamefully

with the pope's messengers, whereby he ran greatly in the indignation of the church, and especially of the head of the church, as of our Holy Father the Pope. Thus this evil Don Pedro persevered still in his obstinate sin.

Then advice and counsel was taken by the pope and the college in what way they might correct him; and then it was determined that he was not worthy to bear the name of a king, nor to hold any realm. And there, in full consistory at Avignon, in the chamber of excommunication, he was openly declared to be reputed as an infidel. Then it was thought that he should be constrained and corrected by help of the Companions that were as yet in the realm of France. Then the King of Arragon, who hated the King of Castile, was sent for, and also Henry the Bastard of Spain, to come to Avignon to the pope. And when they were come, the pope made Henry the Bastard legitime and lawful to obtain the realm of Castile, and Don Pedro was cursed and condemned by sentence of the pope. And then the King of Arragon said, that he would open the passage through his country, and provide victuals and purveyances for all manner of men of war that would pursue to go into Castile to confound King Don Pedro, and to put him out of his realm.

Of this ordinance was the French king right joyous, and did his pain to help to get out of prison Sir Bertrand Du Guesclin, who was prisoner with Sir John Chandos. And he paid for his ransom a one hundred thousand francs, part thereof was paid by the French king and the pope, and Henry the Bastard paid the residue. And after his deliverance they fell into treaty with the Companions, and promised them

great profit if they would go into the realm of Castile, whereto they likely agreed for a certain sum of money which they had to deposit among them. [1]

And so this journey was shewed to the Prince of Wales, and to the knights and squires about him, and specially to Sir John Chandos, who was desired to be one of the chief captains, with Sir Bertrand du Guesclin. Howbeit he excused himself, and said he might not go thither. Yet the journey was not prevented for all that, and divers knights of the princes went thither; and the chief captain of this enterprise was made the Lord John of Bourbon, Count of March, to counterwin the death of his cousin the Queen of Spain. He was in all things ruled and counselled by the advice of Sir Bertrand du Guesclin, for he was as then a jolly, young, lusty knight; and divers other lords and good knights went forth in that voyage. They made their assembly at Languedoc and at Montpellier, and thereabouts; and so they passed all to Narbonne, to enter on that side into the realm of Arragon. These men of war were to the number of thirty thousand; and there were the chief captains of the Companions all of accord and of one alliance, having great desire to put Don Pedro out of the realm of Castile, and to make his brother Don Henry the Bastard king instead.

And when these men of arms were about to enter into the realm of Arragon, they sent to King Don Pedro, to blind him by their message, and so to do their enterprise the more privily, but he was already well-informed of their intents; but he set nothing thereby, but assembled his people to resist against them, and to fight with them at the entry of his realm. Their message was desiring him to open the

straits of his country, and to give free passage to the pilgrims of God, who had enterprise by great devotion to go into the realm of Grenada to destroy the infidels and exalt the Christian faith. [2] The King Don Pedro at these tidings did nothing but laugh, and said he would do nothing at their desire, nor obey in any point such a rascal company. And when these knights and other men of arms knew the will and answer of the King Don Pedro, they thereby reputed him right orgulous and presumptive, and made all the haste they might to advance to do him all the hurt they could. So they all passed through the realm of Arragon, where they found the passages ready open for them, and victual and every thing ready apparelled and at a meetly price; for the King of Arragon had great joy of their coming, for he thought by their means to conquer again from the King of Castile all his lands that King Don Pedro had before taken from him by force. And then these men of war passed the great river that separateth Castile and Arragon, and so they entered into the realm of Spain. [3] And when they had conquered towns, cities, and castles, straits, posts, and passages, the which King Don Pedro had taken from the realm of Arragon, then Sir Bertrand and his company delivered them to the King of Arragon, on the condition that always from thenceforth he should aid and comfort Henry the Bastard against King Don Pedro. Tidings came to the King of Castile, how that the Frenchmen, Bretons, Englishmen, Normans, Picards, and Burguignons, were entered into his realm, and had, as then, passed the great river departing Castile and Arragon, and how they had won again all on that side the river, the which cost him much pain and trouble ere he won it

first. Then he was right sore displeased, and said; "Well, all shall not go as they ween it shall." Then he made a special commandment throughout all his realm, in giving knowledge to them that his letters and messengers were sent unto, that they should without delay come to him, to the intent to fight with the men of war which had entered into his realm of Castile. There were but a few that obeyed his commandment,—and when he thought to have had a great assembly of men of war he was deceived, for few or none came to him. For his lords and knights of Spain forsook and refused him, and turned to his brother the Bastard;—wherefore he was fain to fly, or else he had been taken, he was so sore behated with his enemies, and also with his own men. So none abode about him, except one true knight, called Fernand de Castro; he would never forsake him for none adventure.

And so then Don Pedro went to Seville, the best city of Spain. And when he was come thither, he was in no great surety, wherefore he trussed and put into coffers his treasure, and took a ship with his wife and children, and so departed from Seville, and Fernand de Castro his knight with him. And he arrived like a knight discomfited in Galicia, at a port called Corunna, where there was a strong castle;—and therein he and his wife and children entered, [4] that is to say, two young daughters, Constance and Isabel. And of all his men and council he had none except Fernand de Castro.

CAP. II.

OF THE ALLIANCE BETWEEN DON PEDRO AND
THE PRINCE OF WALES.

THUS, as I have shewed before, this King Don Pedro was sore behated by his own men throughout all the realm of Castile, because of the marvellous cruel justice he had done, and of the destruction of the noble men of his realm, the which he had put to death and slain by his own hand. Wherefore, as soon as they saw his bastard brother enter into his realm with so great a puissance, they all drew to him and received him for their lord, and so rode forth with him. And they caused cities, towns, castles and boroughs to be opened to him, and every man to do him homage; and so the Spaniards with one voice cried "Live Henry! and die Don Pedro, who has been to us so cruel and so evil!" Thus the lords led forth Henry throughout all the realm of Castile; so all manner of people obeyed to him, and crowned him king in the city of Burgos. And all prelates, counts, barons, and knights, made him reverence as to their king, and sware always to obey him as such, or else, if need were, to die in the quarrel. So thus the king rode from city to city, and in every place he had reverence done to him like a king. And then he gave to the knights, strangers, who came with him into the realm of Castile, great gifts and jewels, so that every man reputed him to be a liberal and an honourable lord; and commonly the Normans, Frenchmen, and Bretons said

that he was a prince of great liberality, and how that he was worthy to live and reign over a great realm; and so he did a season, right puissantly, and in great prosperity.

Now ye have heard how the King Don Pedro was driven into the castle of Corunna on the sea, and with him his wife and two daughters, and Don Fernand of de Castro with him all only; so that in the mean season his brother the Bastard, by puissance of the men of war that he had got out of France, conquered Castile; and all the country yielded them to him, as ye have heard before. He was right sore afraid, and not well assured in the castle of Corunna; for he doubted greatly the Bastard his brother, for he well knew that, if he had knowledge of his being there, he would come with puissance and besiege him, wherefore he would not abide that peril. Therefore he departed out by night, and took a ship, and with him his wife and daughters, and Don Fernand of de Castro, and all the gold, silver, and jewels that they had. But the wind was to him so contrary, that he could not withdraw from the coast, and so was fain to enter again the fortress of Corunna. Then the King Don Pedro demanded of Don Fernand, his knight, how he should maintain himself, complaining of fortune that was to him so contrary. "Sir," quoth the knight, "ere ye depart from hence, it were well if ye did send to your cousin the Prince of Wales, to know if he will receive you or not. The Prince of Wales is so noble, and so gentle of blood and of courage, that when he knoweth your necessities, he will take thereof great compassion; for divers ways he is bound thereto, by reason of the great alliances that the king his father and yours had together. And if he will aid to set you again in your

realm, there is none else can do it so well in all the world, he is so held, redoubted, and loved by all men of war; and, Sir, you are here in a good strong fortress, to keep a season till ye have further tidings out of Aquitaine." To this counsel accorded cheerfully the King Don Pedro: then he wrote letters' right piteous and amiable; and a knight with two squires were appointed to do this message. And so they took on them that journey, and entered into the sea, and sailed till they arrived at Bayonne, the which city held of the King of England. But it was shewed to them that the Prince of Wales was then at Bordeaux, and they took their horses and rode till they came thither, and then took their lodging.

And anon after they went to the abbey of St. Andrew's, where the prince was; and when the prince heard that there were messengers come out of Castile, and that they were Spaniards and messengers of Don Pedro, he said he would see them and know what they would have. And so they came and kneeled down, and saluted him according to their usage, and recommended the king their master to him, and delivered him their letters. The prince took up the messengers and received their letters, and opened and read them at good leisure; therein he found how piteously the King Don Pedro wrote, signifying all his poverty and mischief, and how that his brother the Bastard, by his great puissance and by means of the great amities he had purchased, and by the help of the Companions, had put him out from the heritage of the realm of Castile; wherefore he desired the prince, for God's sake, and by the way of pity, that he would intend to provide for him some counsel and remedy, wherein he should achieve grace of God and of all the

world; for it is not the right way of a true Christian king to disinherit the rightful heir, and to inherit, by puissance of tyranny, a bastard.

And the prince, who was a valiant knight and a sage, closed the letters in his hands, and said to the messengers, "Sirs, ye be right welcome to me from my cousin the King of Castile; ye shall tarry a space here with us, and ere ye depart ye shall have an answer." Then the prince's knights, who knew right well what they had to do, led to their lodgings the Spanish knight and the two squires. And the prince, who tarried still in his chamber, mused greatly on these tidings, and then sent for Sir John Chandos and for Sir Thomas Felton, two of the chief of his council; for the one was the seneschal of Aquitaine, and the other constable*. And when they were come to him, he said to them, all smiling, "Sirs, ye shall hear new tidings out of Spain. The King Don Pedro, our cousin, complaineth him greatly of the Bastard Henry, his brother, who hath taken from him his inheritance, and hath put him out of his realm, as ye have heard reported by them that hath come from thence; and he requireth of us instantly our comfort and aid, as it appeareth here by his letters." And so then the prince read the letters word by word twice, and these two knights heard well all the matter. And when he had read the letters, then he said to them:—

"Sirs, ye two, Sir John and Sir Thomas, ye are the most special of my council, and in whom I have most trust and affiance; wherefore I desire you counsel me what ye think were best to do." Then these two knights beheld each other without any word

* See Note [6] to "The Battle of Poitiers."

speaking. Then the prince again said, "Sirs, speak hardily what ye think in this matter!" And there the prince was counselled by these two knights, as I was informed, that he should send to the King Don Pedro men of war, to Corunna, where he was, according to the tenor of the letters, and also by report of the messengers, and that the men of war should bring him to the city of Bordeaux, and there more plainly to learn what he would say, and then, according as they should hear his word, to take advice, and to give him such counsel as of reason should suffice him.

This answer pleased right well the prince: then he desired to go to Corunna in that voyage, to bring a safeguard to him, the King Don Pedro, Sir Thomas Felton and divers other knights; and in that army he commanded there should be twelve ships furnished with archers and men of war. So these knights made their provision; and the messengers departed with them from Bordeaux, and rode with them to Bayonne, and there tarried a three or four days, abiding for wind and weather; and the fifth day, as they were departing, the King Don Pedro of Castile, arrived at Bayonne himself, for he was departed from Corunna in great haste and doubt; for he durst not abide there any longer, and brought but a few of his men with him, and such treasure as he had. So the tidings of his coming was great joy to the Englishmen. Then Sir Thomas Felton and his company came to him and received him right sweetly, and shewed him how they were ready, by commandment of the prince their lord, to have come to him to Corunna, and to any other place, to have brought him to the prince; of the which tidings the King Don Pedro was right joyous, and

thanked greatly the prince and the knights that were there.

The coming of Don Pedro thus to Bayonne, Sir Thomas Felton and the other knights certified the prince thereof; of the which he was right joyous: and within a short space after, these knights brought the King Don Pedro to the city of Bordeaux. And the prince, who greatly desired to see his cousin the King Don Pedro, and to do him the more honour, issued out of Bordeaux, accompanied with divers knights and squires, and went and met the king; and did to him great reverence both in word and deed, the which he could do right well, for there was no prince in his time that could shew more honour than him. And when the prince had well feasted him, then they rode to Bordeaux; and the prince took the king above him—in nowise he would do otherwise: and as they rode together the King Don Pedro shewed the prince how his bastard brother had chased him out of his realm of Castile; and also he piteously complained him of the untruth of his men, shewing how they had all forsaken him except one knight, the which was then with him, called Don Ferdinand de Castro. The prince right courteously and sagely recomforted him, desiring him not to be abashed nor discomforted; for though he had as then lost all, he trusted it should be in the puissance of God to restore him again all his loss, and moreover to take vengeance of all his enemies. Thus, as they talked together, they rode so long that they came to Bordeaux, and alighted at the abbey of St. Andrew, where the prince and princess kept their house. And then the king was brought to a fair chamber ready apparelled for him; and when he was

changed, he went to the princess and the ladies, who received him right courteously, as they could right well do.

I might over long make report to you of this matter, what of their cheer, feasts, and sports; wherefore I pass it over briefly, and shall shew you how King Don Pedro sped with the prince, his cousin, whom he found right amiable and courteous, and well condescended to his desires; howbeit there were some of his council said unto him as ye shall hear.

Ere that Don Pedro came to Bordeaux, some wise and sage imaginative lords, as well of Gascony as of England, who were of the prince's council, and had ever truly served him and given him good counsel, and so thought ever to do, they said to the prince, "Sir, ye have heard say divers times he that too much embraceth holdeth the weaklier,—it is for a truth that ye are one of the princes of the world most praised, honoured, and redoubted, and holdeth on this side the sea great land and seignories, thanked be God! in good rest and peace. There is no king near nor far off as at this present time that dare displease you, ye are so renowned of good chivalry, grace, and good fortune. Ye ought, therefore, by reason, to be content with that ye have, and seek not to get you any enemies. Sir, we say this for none evil; we know well the King Don Pedro of Castile, who is now driven out of his realm, is a man of high mind, right cruel, and full of evil conditions; for by him hath been done many evil deeds in the realm of Castile, and hath caused many a valiant man to lose his head and brought cruelly to an end, without any manner of reason, and so by his villain deeds and consent he is now disseized and put out of his realm; and also,

beside all this, he is enemy to the church, and cursed by our holy father the Pope. He is reputed and hath been a great season like a tyrant; and, without title of reason, hath always grieved and made war with his neighbours the King of Arragon and the King of Navarre, and would have disherited them by puissance; and also, as the bruit runneth throughout his realm, and by his own men, how he caused to die his wife, your cousin, daughter to the Duke of Bourbon; wherefore, sir, ye ought to think and consider that all this that he now suffereth are rods and strokes of God, sent to chastise him, and to give example to all other Christian kings and princes to beware that they do not as he hath done."

With such words, or the like, the prince was counselled ere King Don Pedro arrived at Bayonne. But to these words the prince answered, "Lords, I think, and believe certainly, that ye counsel me truly to the best of your powers. I know well and am informed of the life and state of this King Don Pedro, and know well that without number he hath done many evil deeds, whereby now he is disseized. But the present cause that moveth and giveth us courage to be willing to aid him, is as I shall shew you;—it is not convenable that a bastard should hold a realm in heritage, and put out of his own realm his brother, a rightful inheritor to the land, the which thing all king and kings' sons should in no wise suffer nor consent to; for it is a great prejudice against the state royal. And also beside that, the king my father and this king Don Pedro have a great season been allied together by great confederations, wherefore we are bound to aid him in case that he require and desire us so to do.

Thus the prince was moved in his courage to aid and

comfort this King Don Pedro in his trouble and business. [5] Thus he answered to his council; and they could not remove him out of that purpose, for his mind was ever more and more firmly set on that matter.

And when King Don Pedro of Castile was come to the prince to the city of Bordeaux, he humbled himself right sweetly to the prince, and offered to him great gifts and profit, in saying that he would make Edward his eldest son King of Galicia, and that he would give to him and to his men great good and riches, the which he had left behind him in the realm of Castile, because he durst not bring it with him; but this riches was in so sure keeping that none knew where it was but himself: to the which word the knights gave good entent, for Englishmen and Gascons naturally are covetous. Then the prince was counselled to assemble all the Barons of the Duchy of Aquitaine and his special council. And so there was at Bordeaux a great council, and there the King Don Pedro shewed openly how he would maintain himself, and how he would satisfy every man if the prince would take on him to bring him again into his country. Then there were letters written, and messengers sent forth, and lords and knights sent for all about; as the Count of Armagnac, the Count of Comminges, the Lord Dalbret, the Captal of Buch, and all others barons and knights of Gascony and of Verne. And also the Count of Foix was desired to come thither, but he would not; and excused himself because he had a disease in his leg and might not ride, but he sent thither his council.

To this parliament thus holden in the city of Bordeaux came all the counts, viscounts, barons, and wise men of Aquitaine, of Xaintonge, Poitou, Quercy, Limousin, and of Gascony. And when they were all

come, they went to council three days, on the state and ordinance for this King Don Pedro of Spain, who was always there present in the council with the prince his cousin, reasoning always to fortify his quarrel and business. Finally, the prince was counselled that he should send sufficient messengers to the king his father into England, to know his counsel what he should do in that case; and, his pleasure and answer once known, then, all the lords said, they would take counsel together, and so make the prince such an answer that of reason he should be well content. Then there were chosen four knights of the prince's that should go into England to the king.

Thus then they departed, and brake up this council; and every man went home to their own houses; and the King Don Pedro tarried still at Bordeaux with the prince and princess, who did him much honour, and made him great feast and cheer. And then the afore-said four knights who were appointed to go into England departed. Their voyage was right prosperous and speedy. And they found the King of England at his castle of Windsor, who, after taking the advice of his council on the letters of the prince his son, gave answers to the said four knights to bear unto him, and unto the barons of Aquitaine. And so with these letters the said messengers departed again to the city of Bordeaux, whereas they found the prince and the King Don Pedro, to whom they delivered the letters from the King of England.

Then there was a new day of council set to be had in the city of Bordeaux, and thither came all such as were sent for. Then there was read openly in the council the King of England's letters, the which devised plainly how he would that the prince his son, in the

name of God and St. George, should take upon him to set again King Don Pedro into his heritage, the which his bastard brother wrongfully had taken from him without reason, and falsely, as it appeareth, hath put him out thereof. Also the king's letters made mention how much he was bound thereto because of certain alliances of old time made between him and the king of Castile, his cousin, as to aid him if case required, if he was thereto desired; wherefore he desired by his letters all his friends and subjects, that the prince his son might be aided and counselled by them as well as though he were there present himself.

When the barons of Aquitaine heard read these letters and commandments of the king, and perceived the king's pleasure and the prince's their lord, then they joyously answered, and said, "Sirs, we shall gladly obey the king our sovereign lord's commandment; it is reason that we obey you and him, and so we will do, and serve you in this voyage, and King Don Pedro in like wise; but, Sir, we would know who should pay us our wages, for it will be hard to get out men of war into a strange country." Then the prince beheld King Don Pedro, and said, "Sir King, ye hear what our people say—answer you them; for it behoveth you to answer, seeing the matters be yours."

Then the King Don Pedro answered the prince and said, "Right dear cousin, as far as the gold, silver, and treasure that I have brought hither, which is not a thirtieth part so much as I have left behind me, as long as that will endure, I shall give and part therewith to your people." Then the prince said, "Sir, ye say well, and as for the remnant, I shall become debtor to them and pay them as the case requireth, the which I shall lend you, and all that we need until we

come into Castile." "Sir," quoth the King Don Pedro, "ye do me great courtesy and grace."

In this council there were divers sage men who considered that the prince could not well make this voyage without the accord and consent of the King of Navarre; for they could not enter into Spain but through his country and through the straits of Roncevalles, [6] the which passage they were not in surety to have, because the King of Navarre and Henry the bastard had newly made alliance together. Thus there was much communing how they might do to achieve their purpose: then it was determined that there should be another day assigned of a council to be kept at the city of Bayonne, and that the prince should send sufficient ambassadors to the King of Navarre, desiring him to be at that council in Bayonne. And so on this determination every man departed, fully concluding to be at Bayonne the day limited and prefixed. In the mean season, the prince sent Sir John Chandos and Sir Thomas Felton to the King of Navarre, who was as then in the city of Pampeluna. These two sage and well-languaged knights did so much that they came to the King of Navarre, who made a faithful covenant by word and by writing sealed to be at the said parliament at Bayonne, and thereon the messengers returned again to the prince and shewed him these tidings.

The day assigned of this parliament, there came to the city of Bayonne the King of Spain Don Pedro, the prince, the Count of Armagnac, the Lord d'Albret, and all the barons of Gascony, Poitou, Quercy, Rouergue, Xaintonge, and Limousin. And thither came personally the King of Navarre; and the Prince, and King Don Pedro did him great honour because

they thought the better to speed with him; so thus in the city of Bayonne there was a great council, the which endured five days: and the prince and his council had much to do ere they could bring the King of Navarre to their desire, for he was a man not easily to be won, if he saw that men had any need of him. Howbeit, the great power of the prince brought him into that case that finally he sware, promised, and sealed to King Don Pedro, peace, love, and firm alliance and confederation. And in like manner King Don Pedro did to him, upon certain compositions that were then ordained; of the which the Prince of Wales was a mean between them and chief devisor thereof. And when these things were ordained and fully confirmed, and every man knew what he had to do, and what he should have, and that they had sojourned there the space of twelve days, then the King of Navarre departed home into his own country, and all the other lords departed every man to his own; and the prince went to Bordeaux, and the King Don Pedro tarried still at Bayonne.

Then the prince sent his heralds into Spain to certain knights and captains, Englishmen and Gascons, favourable and obedient to him, signifying to them how it was his pleasure that they should take their leaves of Henry the Bastard and come to him, saying how he had need of them, and was of the intent to employ and occupy them otherwise. And when these heralds had brought these letters into Castile to these knights from the prince, and they perceived the prince's pleasure, then they took leave of King Henry as soon as they could in courteous manner, without discovering of the prince's intention. Then this bastard King Henry, who was right liberal, courteous,

and honourable, gave them licence, with many great gifts, and thanked them greatly for their service. So then departed from Spain Sir Eustace d'Auberticourt, Sir Hugh Calverly, Sir Walter Huet, Sir Mathew Gorney, Sir John Devereux, and their company, and divers other knights and squires of the prince's house; and they departed as shortly as they might. The same season, the Companions were spread abroad in the country; and knew nothing what these said knights did; howbeit, when they knew it, they gathered together; and this bastard King Henry knew not that the prince was in mind to bring again his brother Don Pedro into Castile so soon as these knights did; for, if he had known it, he might well have hindered them. So these knights departed, and as soon as King Henry knew thereof, he made no great semblant of it; but said to Sir Bertrand du Guesclin, who was still about him, "Sir Bertrand, behold the Prince of Wales, it is shewed us that he will make us war, and bring again that Jew who calleth himself king of Spain by force into this our realm: Sir, what say you thereto?" Sir Bertrand answered and said, "Sir, he is so valiant a knight that if he take on him the enterprise, he will do his power to atchieve it if he may; therefore, Sir, I say to you, cause your passages and straits on all sides to be well kept, so that none may pass or enter into your realm but by your licence; and, Sir, keep your people in love; I know certainly we shall have in France many knights and great aid, the which gladly will serve you. Sir, by your licence I will return thither, and in the mean time keep your people in love, and I know well I shall find in France many friends, and I know, Sir, I shall get you as many as I can."

“By my faith,” quoth King Henry, “ye say well; and I shall order all the remnant according to your will; and so, within a little space after, Sir Bertrand departed and went into Arragon, where the king received him joyously; and then he tarried a fifteen days, and then departed and went to Montpellier, and there found the Duke of Anjou, who also received him joyously as one whom he loved right entirely; and when he had been there a season, he departed and went into France to the king, who received him with great joy.

CAP. III.

HOW THE PRINCE OF WALES SET FORTH ON HIS
VOYAGE INTO SPAIN.

Now let us speak of the Prince of Wales, and approach to his voyage, and shew how he persevered: first, as it hath been shewed here before, he did so much that he had all the Companions of his accord who were to the number of twelve thousand fighting men, and greatly it was to his cost to retain them, and bear their charges ere they departed out of the principality,* from the beginning of August to the beginning of February. And besides that the prince received and retained all manner of men of war where-soever he could get them; also there came to him great aid out of England; for when the king his father knew that this voyage went forward, then he gave licence to one of his sons, John Duke of Lancaster, to go to the Prince of Wales his brother, with a great number of men of war; [7] as four hundred men of arms, and four hundred archers. And when the prince knew of his brother's coming he was right joyous.

And daily there came great complaints to the prince of the Companions,† how they did much hurt to men and women of the country where they lay, so that the people of the marches would gladly that the prince

* Of Aquitaine.

† The reader will find an Historical Notice of this singular race of people in the next volume.—Ed.

should advance forth in his voyage, to which the prince was right desirous. Howbeit, he was counselled that he should suffer the feast of Christmas first to pass, to the intent that they might have winter at their backs: to the which counsel the prince inclined, and somewhat because the princess his wife was great with child, who took much thought for his departing; wherefore the prince would gladly see her delivered ere he departed, and she on her part was gladder to have him abide. And thus, while the prince was making of his provision and abiding the coming of his brother the Duke of Lancaster, the princess travailed, and, through the grace of God, she was delivered of a fair son on the day of the three Kings of Cologne, the which, as that year went, was on a Wednesday, at the hour of three or thereabout, whereof the prince and all his people were right joyous; and the Friday after he was christened, at noon, in the church of St. Andrew, in the city of Bordeaux. The archbishop of the same place christened him, and the bishop of Agen, in Agenois, and the King of Majorca were his godfathers; and this child had to name Richard, who was afterwards King of England. [8]

The Sunday after, at the hour of prime, departed from Bordeaux the prince, with great triumph, and all other men of war. Howbeit, the most part of his host were passed on before, and lay before the city of Dax in Gascony: and the prince, the same Sunday, at night, came to the same city, and there tarried a three days; for then it was shewed him that the duke of Lancaster, his brother, was coming, and had passed the sea a five days before, and was arrived in Brittany at St. Mahé, and so was come to Nantes, where the Duke of Brittany greatly feasted him. Then the

Duke of Lancaster passed through Poitou and Xaintonge, and came to Blaye, and there passed the river of Gironde, and so came to Bordeaux, and went to the abbey of St. Andrew, where the princess lay, who joyfully received him, and so did all other ladies and damosels that were with her. Then the duke thought to tarry there no longer, but took his leave of his sister the princess and departed with his company, and rode so long that he came to the city of Dax, where he found the prince his brother. They made great joy of each other, for they lived together entirely: there were great tokens of love shewed between them and their company. And anon, after the Duke of Lancaster's coming thither, came the Count of Foix, and made great reverence and cheer to the prince and to his brother, and offered himself at all points to be at their commandment. The prince, who would well honour all lords according to their estates, honoured him greatly, and thanked him of his coming thither; and after the prince gave him the charge of his country in his absence, desiring him to keep it well till his return. The count joyously acceded to his desire, and then took leave and departed home into his country.* And the prince, and the Duke of Lancaster, his brother, sported them in the city of Dax, and all their people spread abroad in the country about the entry of the passages of Navarre.

Between St. Jean de pié du Port and the city of Pampeluna, under the mountains, there are straits and perilous passages; for there is a hundred places, on the same passages, that a hundred men may keep a passage against all the world. Also it was at the same

* This count forms the subject of the next story.

season very cold, for it was about the month of February [1366] when they passed, which they did in three battles on three sundry days, as the Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday. On the Monday the vanward, whereof was captain the Duke of Lancaster, and, in his company, the constable of Aquitaine, Sir John Chandos, who had twelve hundred penons of his arms, the field silver, a sharp pyll gules; and with him were the two marshals of Aquitaine, and with them was the penon of St. George. Altogether, under Sir John Chandos's rule, they were to the number of ten thousand horses.

On Tuesday, passed the Prince of Wales and King Don Pedro, and also the King of Navarre, who was come again to the prince, to bear him company and to ensure him a ready passage. And with the prince there was Sir Lewis Harcourt, the Viscount of Châtelheraut, and all the Poitevins; Sir Thomas Felton, great seneschal of Aquitaine, the seneschal of Xaintonge, the seneschal of Rochelle, the seneschal of Quercy, the seneschal of Limousin, the seneschal of Agenois, the seneschal of Bigorre, and others, to the number of four thousand men of arms; and they were a ten thousand horses. The same Tuesday they had evil passage because of wind and snow; howbeit they passed forth, and lodged in the country of Pampeluna; and the King of Navarre brought the prince and the King Don Pedro into the city of Pampeluna to supper, and made them great cheer.*

The Wednesday, passed the King James of Majorca, and the Count of Armagnac and others, and all the Companions, and they were a ten thousand horse. They had more easy passage than those that passed

* See the map prefixed to the second volume.

the day before; and so all the whole host lodged in the country of Pampeluna, abiding each other, refreshing them and their horses. They lay still thus, about Pampeluna, the space of three days, because they found the country plentiful, both in flesh, bread, wine and all other purveyances for them and for their horses. Howbeit these Companions paid not for every thing as was demanded of them; nor they could not abstain from robbing and pilling that they could get, so that about Pampeluna and in the way they did much trouble and hurt; wherewith the King of Navarre was right sore displeased, but he could not as then amend it. But he repented him oftentimes that he had opened his passages to the prince and his company, for he perceived well how he had thereby more hurt than profit. Howbeit the season was not then for him to say all that he thought, for he saw well and considered that he was not as then master of his own country. So he had daily great complaints made to him of one and other of his country, wherewith his heart was sore constrained for displeasure; but he could not remedy it. Howbeit he caused some of his counsel, such as knew well these Companions, and had been in their company in France, in Normandy, and in divers other places, to desire them to abstain themselves from robbing and pilling the country as they did, -to whom they promised so to do.

CAP. IV.

OF THE GREAT BATTLE THAT WAS FOUGHT NEAR
TO NAJARA.

IN the mean season, Sir Bertrand du Guesclin returned to King Henry, with a three thousand fighting men of France and Arragon. And King Henry was right joyful thereof, and made him great cheer and honourable reception. And the two hosts, by degrees, drew nearer to each other;—and divers knights, of both parties, came on before, and did many feats of arms, and the prince's host crossed the river which divides Navarre from Castile,* near to Logrono, and King Henry lay at Navaret.

The prince, the Friday, the second day of April, dislodged from Logrono, and advanced forward arranged in order ready to fight, for he knew well that King Henry was not far thence. And so that day he advanced two leagues, and at three of the day he came before Najara and there took his lodging. Then the prince sent forth his couriers to aview his enemies, and to know where they were lodged: and then they departed from the host, and rode so forward that they saw all their enemies' host, who were also lodged before Najara. So they brought report thereof to the prince, and in the evening the prince caused secretly to be shewed through all the host that at the first sounding of the trumpets, every man to apparel himself, and at the second to be armed, and at the third to leap a horseback, and to follow the marshals' banners

* The Ebro.

with the penon of St. George; and that none on pain of death advance before them without he be commanded so to do.

In like manner as the prince had done, the same Friday, in sending out his couriers, so did King Henry on his part, to know where the prince was lodged; and when he had had true report thereof, then the king called Sir Bertrand du Guesclin, and took counsel and advice how to persevere. Then they caused their people to sup, and after to go to rest to be the more fresh, and at the hour of midnight to be ready apparelled and to draw to the field, and to ordain their battles; for he knew well the next day he should have battle. So that night the Spaniards took their ease and rest, for they had well wherewith so to do, as plenty of victuals and other things, and the Englishmen had great default; therefore, they had great desire to fight, either to win, or to lose all.

After midnight, the trumpets sounded in King Henry's host;—then every man made him ready; at the second blast they drew out of their lodgings, and ordered three battles. The first had Sir Bertrand du Guesclin, and there were all the strangers, as well of France as of other countries: there was well in that battle four thousand knights and squires, well armed and dressed after the manner of France. The second battle had Don Tello and Don Sancho, brothers to King Henry; and in that battle there were, with the genetors,* a xv thousand afoot and a horseback, and they drew them a little aback on the left hand of the first battle. The third battle and the greatest of all, governed King Henry himself; and in

* A species of light irregular cavalry, so named from being mounted on *jennets*.

his company there were vii thousand horsemen and threescore thousand afoot, with the cross-bow—so that in all three battles he was a fourscore and six thousand a horseback and afoot. Then King Henry leapt on a strong mule, according to the fashion of the country, and rode from battle to battle, right sweetly praying every man that day to employ himself to defend and keep their honour, and so he shewed himself so cheerfully that every man was joyful to behold him. Then he went again to his own battle; and by that time it was daylight, and then about the sunrising he advanced forth towards Najara to find his enemies, in good order of battle, ready to fight.

The Prince of Wales, at the breaking of the day, was ready in the field, arranged in battle, and advanced forward in good order, for he knew well he should encounter his enemies. So there were none that went before the marshal's battles, but such couriers as were appointed. So thus the lords of both hosts knew by the report of their couriers that they should shortly meet, so they went forward a hasting pace, each toward the other; and when the sun was rising up it was a great beauty to behold the battles and the armours shining against the sun. So thus they went forward till they approached near together. Then the prince and his company went over a little hill, and in the descending thereof they perceived clearly their enemies coming toward them: and when they were all descended down this mountain, then every man drew to their battles, and kept them still and so rested them, and every man dressed and apparelled himself ready to fight. Then Sir John Chandos brought his banner rolled up together, to the prince, and said, "Sir, behold, here is my banner; I require you display it abroad, and give me

leave this day to raise it; for, Sir, I thank God and you, I have land and heritage sufficient to maintain it withal." [9] Then the prince and King Don Pedro took the banner between their hands, and spread it abroad, the which was of silver, a sharp pyle gules, and delivered it to him, and said, "Sir John, behold here your banner; God send you joy and honour thereof." Then Sir John Chandos bare his banner to his own company, and said, "Sirs, behold here my banner and yours; keep it as your own;" and they took it and were right joyful thereof, and said, that by the pleasure of God and Saint George, they would keep and defend it to the best of their power; and so the banner abode in the hands of a good English squire called William Allestry, who bare it that day, and acquitted himself right nobly. Then, anon after, the Englishmen and Gascons alighted off their horses, and every man drew under their own banner and standard in array of battle ready to fight, and it was great joy to see and consider the banners and penons, and the noble armoury that was there.

Then the battles began a little to advance; and then the Prince of Wales opened his eyes, and regarded towards Heaven, and joined his hands together, and said, "Very God Jesu Christ, who hath formed and created me, consent, by your benign grace, that I may have this day victory of mine enemies, as that I do is in a rightful quarrel, to sustain and to aid this king chased out of his own heritage, the which giveth me courage to advance myself to re-establish him again into his realm." And then he laid his right hand on King Don Pedro, who was by him, and said, "Sir King, ye shall know this day if ever ye shall have any part of the realm of Castile or

not—therefore, advance banners, in the name of God and Saint George!” With these words, the Duke of Lancaster and Sir John Chandos approached; and the duke said to Sir William Beauchamp, “Sir William, behold yonder our enemies—this day ye shall see me a good knight, or else to die in the quarrel;” and therewith they approached their enemies.

And first the Duke of Lancaster and Sir John Chandos’ battle assembled with the battle of Sir Bertrand du Guesclin, and of the marshal Sir Arnold d’Andrehen, who were a four thousand men of arms: so that at the first brunt there was a sore encounter with spears and shields, and they were a certain space ere any of them could get within the other: there was many a deed of arms done, and many a man reversed and cast to the earth, that never after was relieved. When these two first battles were assembled, the other battles would not long tarry behind, but approached and joined together quickly, and so the prince and his battle came on the Don Tello’s battle, and with the prince was the King Don Pedro of Castile, and Sir Martin de la Karra, who represented the King of Navarre. And at the first meeting that the prince met with the Count Don Tello’s battle, the Count and his brother fled away without good order or array, and wist not why, and a two thousand spears with him. So this second battle was opened and anon discomfited; for the Captal of Buch and the Lord of Clisson and their company came on them afoot, and slew and hurt many of them. Then the prince’s battle, with King Don Pedro, came and joined with the battle of King Henry, where there were threescore thousand men afoot and a horseback,

there the battle began to be fierce and cruel on all parts, for the Spaniards and Castilians had slings—wherewith they cast stones in such a wise that therewith they clave and brake many a basenet and helm, and hurt many a man and overthrew them to the earth: and the archers of England shot fiercely, and hurt many a man of the Spaniards previously, and brought them to great mischief. The one part cried, “*Castile, for King Henry!*”—and the other part, “*Saint George for Guienne!*”

And the first battle, as the Duke of Lancaster and Sir John Chandos, and the two Marshals of Aquitaine, Sir Guiscard d’Angle and Sir Stephen Cossington, fought with Sir Bertrand du Guesclin, and with the other knights of France and of Arragon. There was done many a deed of arms, so it was hard for any of them to open other’s battle; divers of them held the spears in both their hands, foining and pressing each at other, and some fought with small-swords and daggers. Thus at the beginning the Frenchmen and they of Arragon fought valiantly, so that the good knights of England endured much pain. That day Sir John Chandos was a good knight, and did under his banner many a noble feat of arms: he adventured himself so far that he was closed in among his enemies, and so sore overpressed that he was felled to the earth, and on him there fell a great and a big man of Castile, called Martin Ferrant, who was greatly renowned of hardiness among the Spaniards; and he did his intent to have slain Sir John Chandos, who lay under him in great danger. Then Sir John Chandos remembered of a knife that he had in his bosom, and drew it out, and struck this Martin so in the back and in the sides that he wounded him to death, as he lay on him.

Then Sir John Chandos turned him over, and rose quickly on his feet; and his men were there about him, who had with much pain broken the press to come to him whereas they saw him felled.

The Saturday, in the morning, between Najara and Navaret, was the battle right fell and cruel, and many a man brought to great mischief. There was done many a noble deed of arms by the prince, and by the Duke of Lancaster, his brother, and by Sir John Chandos, Sir Guiscard d'Angle, the Captal of Buch, the Lord of Clisson, and divers others. And under the penon of St. George, and the banner of Sir John Chandos, were the Companions, to the number of twelve hundred pensiles, and they were right hardy and valiant knights. On the French part, Sir Bertrand du Guesclin, Sir Arnold d'Andrehen, Don Sancho, and other knights of France and Arragon, fought right nobly to their powers; howbeit they had none advantage, for these Companions were hardy and strong knights, and well used and expert in arms. And also there were great plenty of knights and squires of England under the banner of the Duke of Lancaster and Sir John Chandos; but of truth, if the Spaniards had done their part as well as the Frenchmen did, the Englishmen and Gascons should have had much more to do, and have suffered more pain than they did. The fault was not in King Henry that they did no better, for he had well admonished and desired them to have done their devoir valiantly, and so they had promised him to have done. The king bore himself right valiantly, and did marvels in arms, and with good courage comforted his people, as when they were flying and opening, he came in among them, and said, "Lords! I am your king—ye have

made me King of Castile, and have sworn and promised that to die ye will not fail me—for God's sake keep your promise that you have sworn, and acquit you against me, and I shall acquit me against you, for I shall not fly one foot as long as I may see you do your endeavour." By these words, and such other, full of comfort, King Henry brought his men together again three times the same day, and with his own hand he fought valiantly, so that he ought greatly to be honoured and renowned.

This was a marvellous dangerous battle, and many a man slain and sore hurt; the commons of Spain, according to the usages of their country, with their slings they did cast stones with great violence, and did much hurt, the which at the beginning troubled greatly the Englishmen; but when their cast was past, and that they felt the sharp arrows light among them, they could no longer keep their array. With King Henry, in his battle, were many noble men of arms, as well of Spain as of Lisbon, of Arragon, and of Portugal, who acquitted them right nobly, and gave it not up so lightly, for valiantly they fought with spears, javelins, archegays, and swords. And on the wings of Henry's battle there were certain well mounted, who always kept the battle in good order, for if the battle opened or brake array in any side, then they were ever ready to help to bring them again into good order. So these Englishmen and Gascons, ere they had the advantage, they bought it dearly, and won it by great prowess of arms and noble chivalry; and to say truth, the prince himself was the chief flower of chivalry of all the world, and had with him as right noble and valiant knights and squires—there were none that failed to fight valiantly: and also they

had good cause why, for there were of Spaniards and of Castile more than an hundred thousand men in harness, so that by reason of their great number it was long ere they could be overcome. King Don Pedro was greatly chafed, and much desired to meet with the Bastard, his brother, and said, "Where is that whoreson that calleth himself King of Spain?" And the same King Henry fought right valiantly where as he was, and held his people together right marvellously, and said, "Oh, ye good people, ye have crowned me king, therefore help and aid me to keep the heritage that you have given me." So that, by these words, and such others as he spake that day, he caused many to be right hardy and valiant, whereby they abode on the field, so that by cause of their honour they would not fly from the place. The battle that was best fought, and longest held together, was the company of Sir Bertrand du Guesclin, for there were many noble men of arms who fought and held together to their powers, and there was done many a noble feat of arms. And on the English part, especially, there was Sir John Chandos, who that day did like a noble knight, and governed and counselled that day the Duke of Lancaster, in like manner as he did, before, the prince at the battle of Poitiers, wherein he was greatly renowned and praised, the which was good reason; for, a valiant man and a good knight, acquitting himself nobly among lords and princes, ought greatly to be recommended. That day he took no heed for taking any prisoner with his own hands, but always fought and went forward; but there was taken by his company under his banner divers good knights and squires of Arragon and of France, and especially Sir Bertrand du Guesclin, Sir

Arnold d'Andrehen, and more than three score prisoners. So thus finally the battle of Sir Bertrand du Guesclin was discomfited, and all that were therein taken or slain. Then drew together these banners—the banner of the Duke of Lancaster, of Sir John Chandos, and of the two marshals, and the penon of Saint George, and went all together on the battle of King Henry, and cried with a high voice, “Saint George for Guienne!” Then the Spaniards and their company were sore put aback; the Captal of Buch, and the Lord de Clisson fought valiantly, and also Sir Eustace d'Auberticourt, Sir Hugh Calverley, Sir John Devereux, and other, acquitted themselves that day right nobly.

When the battle of the marshals were passed through their enemies and had discomfited the greatest number of them, so that the Spaniards could not sustain nor defend them any longer, but began to fly away in great fear, without any good array or order, toward the city of Najara, and so passed by the great river, so that for any words that King Henry could say they would not return; and when the king saw the mischief and discomfiture of his people, and that he saw no recovery, then he called for his horse and mounted thereon, and put himself among them that fled, but he took not the way to Navaret for fear of enclosing, but took another way, eschewing all perils, for he knew well that if he were taken he should die without mercy. Then the Englishmen and Gascons leapt a horseback and began to chase the Spaniards, who fled away sore discomfited to the great river, and at the entry of the bridge of Najara there was a hideous shedding of blood, and many a man slain and drowned, for divers leaped into the water, the

which was deep and hideous; they thought they had as lieve be drowned as slain. And in this chase, among other, there were two valiant knights of Spain bearing on them the habit of religion: the one called the Great Prior of St. James's, and the other the Grand Master of Calatrava; they and their company, to save themselves, entered into Navaret, and they were so near chased at their back by Englishmen and Gascons that they won the bridge, so that there was a great slaughter, and the Englishmen entered into the city after their enemies, who were entered into a strong house of stone; howbeit, incontinent it was won by force, and the knights taken and many of their men slain, and all the city won and overrun and pill'd, the which was greatly to the Englishmen's profit; also they won King Henry's lodging, wherein they found great riches of vessels and jewels of gold and silver, for the king was come thither with great nobleness, so that when they were discomfited they had no leisure for to return there again to save that they had lost. So this was a hideous and a terrible discomfiture, and especially on the river side; there was many a man down and slain; and it was said, as I have heard reported of some of them that were present, that one might have seen the water that ran by Najara to be of the colour of red with the blood of men and horses that were there slain. This battle was between Najara and Navaret in Spain, the year of the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ, 1366, the third day of April, the which was on a Saturday.

After the discomfiture of the battle of Najara, which was done by noon, the prince caused his banner to be raised up ahigh upon a bush on a little hill, to the intent to draw his people thither, and so thither drew

all those that came from the chase: thither came the Duke of Lancaster, Sir John Chandos, the Lord Clisson, the Captal of Buch, the Count of Armagnac, the Lord d'Albret, and divers other barons, and had raised up on high their banners to draw their people together, and ever as they came they ranged them in the field. Also there was Lewis King of Majorca, his banner before him, whereunto his company drew, and a little there beside was Sir Martin de la Karra, with the banner of his lord the King of Navarre, with divers other counts and barons, the which was a goodly thing to regard and behold. Then came thither King Don Pedro, right sore chafed, coming from the chase on a great black courser, his banner beaten with the arms of Castile before him; and as soon as he saw the prince's banner he alighted and went thither: and when the prince saw him coming he went and met him and did him great honour: then the King Don Pedro would have kneeled down to have thanked the prince, but the prince made great haste to take him by the hand and would not suffer him to kneel.* Then the king said, "Dear and fair cousin, I ought to give you many thanks and praises for this fair journey that I have attained this day by your means." Then the prince said, "Sir, yield thanks to God; and give him all your praise, for the victory hath come by him alone, and not by me." Then the lords of the prince's council drew together, and communed of divers matters, and so long the prince was still there till his people was returned from the chase. Then he ordained four knights and four heralds to go search the fields to know what people were taken, and the number of them that were slain; and also to

* See Frontispiece.

know the truth of King Henry whom they called the Bastard, whether he were alive or dead. And then the prince and his lords went to the lodging of King Henry, and of the Spaniards, where they were well and easily lodged; for it was great and large and well replenished of all things necessary. So then they supped that night in great joy; and, after supper, the knights and heralds that went to visit the field returned, and there they reported that there were slain of their enemies, of men of arms, a five hundred and three score; and of commons, about a seven thousand and five hundred, besides them that were drowned, whereof the number was unknown. And of their own company there was no more slain but four knights, whereof two were Gascons, the third a German, and the fourth an Englishman, and of other commons not past a forty; but they shewed how they could not find King Henry, whereof King Don Pedro was right sorry. So this Saturday at night they rested themselves and made good cheer, for they had well wherewith, for there they found plenty of wine and other victuals, and so refreshed them all the Sunday, the which was Palm Sunday.

The Sunday, on the morning, when the prince was up and ready apparelled, then he issued out of his pavilion, and then came to him the Duke of Lancaster his brother, the Count of Armagnac, the Lord d'Albret, Sir John Chandos, the Captal of Buch, the King of Majorca, and a great number of other knights and squires. And then anon after came to the prince, the King Don Pedro, to whom the prince made great honour and reverence: then the King Don Pedro said, "Dear and fair cousin, I pray and require you that ye will deliver to me the false traitors of this

country, as my bastard brother Sancho, and such other, and I shall cause them to lose their heads, for they have well deserved it."

Then the prince advised him well, and said, "Sir King, I require you, in the name of love and lineage, that ye will grant me a gift and a request." The king, who would in no wise deny his request, said, "Good cousin, all that I have is yours, therefore I am content whatsoever ye desire to grant it." Then the prince said, "Sir, I require you to give pardon to all your people in your realm such as have rebelled against you; by the which courtesy ye shall abide in the better rest and peace in your realm, except William Gomez, for of him I am content ye take your pleasure." The King Don Pedro accorded to his desire, though it were against his will; but he durst not deny the prince, he was so much bounden to him, and said, "Fair cousin, I grant your request with a good heart." Then the prisoners were sent for, and the prince accorded them with the king their lord, and caused him to forgive all his evil will to his brother the Count Sancho, and to all other, so that they should make covenant, and swear fealty, homage, and service, to hold of him truly for ever, and to become his men, and to acknowledge him for their lord and king for ever. This courtesy, with divers other, did the prince to the king, the which was but afterwards smally rewarded, as ye shall hereafter learn.

And the prince also shewed great courtesy to the barons of Spain, such as were prisoners. For if King Don Pedro had taken them in his displeasure they had all died without mercy. And then Sir William Gomez was delivered to the king, whom he hated so sore, that he would take no ransom for him, but made

his head to be stricken off before his lodging. Then King Don Pedro mounted on his horse, and the Count Sancho, his brother, and all those that were become his men, and the marshals of Aquitaine, and a five hundred men of arms, and they departed from the prince's host, and rode to Burgos, and so came thither the Monday in the morning: and they of Burgos who were informed how the journey of Navaret was achieved, and how that King Henry was discomfited, they thought not to keep the town against King Don Pedro, but divers of the richest of the town, and of the most notable, issued out of the town and presented the keys of the city to him, and received him to their lord, and so brought him and all his men into the city of Burgos with great joy and solemnity. And all the Sunday the prince abode still in the lodgings that they had won, and on the Monday after evensong he dislodged, and went and lodged at Berguet, and there tarried till it was Wednesday. And then they went all to the city of Burgos, and the prince entered into the town with great reverence, and with him the Duke of Lancaster, the Count of Armagnac, and divers other great lords; and their people made their lodgings without the town, for they could not all have been lodged within at their ease. And when the prince was at his lodging there he gave and rendered judgment of arms, and of all things thereto appertaining, and there kept field and wager of battle, wherefore it might be well said, that all Spain was come that day in his hands and under his obeisance.

The Prince of Wales and King Don Pedro held their Easter in the town of Burgos, and there tarried a three weeks or more; and on Easter-day they of Asturias, of Toledo, of Lisbon, of Cordova, of Galicia,

of Seville, and of all the other marches and limitations of the realm of Castile came thither and made obedience and homage to King Don Pedro, and were glad to see the prince and Don Ferdinand 'de Castro; and so there was great cheer made between them. And when the King Don Pedro had tarried there the term that I have shewed you, and more, and saw that there were no more that rebelled against him, but every man to him obedient, then the prince said to him, "Sir king, ye are now, thanked be God, peaceably king of this your own realm without any rebellion or let; and, Sir, I and my company tarry here at a great charge and expense: therefore, we require you to provide for money to pay the wages to them that hath holpen to bring you again into your realm; and in fulfilment of your promise whereunto ye have sworn and sealed: and, Sir, the shortlier that ye do it, the greater thanks we shall give you and the more shall be your profit, for ye well know men of war must be paid to live withal, or else they will take it whereas they may get it." Then the king answered and said, "Cousin, we will hold, keep, and accomplish to our power that we have sworn and sealed unto; but, so as for this present time we have no money; wherefore, we will draw us to the Marches of Seville, and there we will procure money that we will satisfy every party; and, Sir, ye shall abide here in the vale of Olives,* the which is a plentiful country, and, Sir, we shall return again to you in as short time as we conveniently can or may, and at the furthest by Whitsuntide." This answer was right pleasant to the prince and to his council, and shortly after, the King Don Pedro de-

* That is at Valladolid—the literal translation of which would be the Vale of Olives.—ED.

parted from the prince, and rode toward Seville, to the intent to get money to pay his men of war as he had promised : and the prince went and lodged in the Vale of Olives, and all his lords and people spread abroad in the country to get victuals more plentiful for them and for their horses. There thus they sojourned to a small profit to the country ; for the Companions could not abstain themselves from robbing and pillaging, according to their wont.

CAP. V.

OF THE HONOUR THAT WAS GIVEN TO THE PRINCE
FOR THE VICTORY OF SPAIN; AND OF HIS
FURTHER PROCEEDINGS IN THE
AFFAIRS OF DON PEDRO.

TIDINGS spread abroad through France, England, Germany, and other countries, how the Prince of Wales and his puissance had in battle discomfited King Henry, and taken, slain, and drowned of his men the day of the battle, more than a hundred thousand men; whereby the prince was greatly renowned, and his chivalry and high enterprise much praised in all places that heard thereof, and especially in the empire of Germany, and in the realm of England. For the Germans, Flemings, and Englishmen said that the Prince of Wales was chief flower of all chivalry, and how that such a prince was well worthy to govern all the world, since by his prowess he had achieved such three high enterprises as he had done. First, the battle of Crecy, in Poitou;* the second, ten years after,

* At the battle of Crecy, the Prince of Wales was only sixteen years old; it was there he won his spurs. He shewed, it is true, the greatest personal gallantry in the action; but he cannot be said to have gained the victory, in the sense in which that expression applies to the commander of an army. See the "Biographical Notice of Froissart," Vol. II., in which there is some mention of the circumstances of the battle of Crecy. I may add, that Froissart makes a strange error in geography, to place Crecy in Poitou; it is, as is well known, in Picardy, not far from Abbeville.—ED.

at Poitiers; and the third, now in Spain, before Navaret. So, in England, in the city of London, the burghesses there made great solemnity and triumph for that victory, as they anciently were wont to do for their kings, when they had overcome their enemies. And, in the realm of France, there were made lamentable sorrows, for the loss of the good knights of the realm of France, the which were slain at that journey; and especially there was made sorrow for Sir Bertrand du Guesclin, and for Sir Arnold d'Andrehen, who were taken prisoners, with divers others. These were all kept right courteously, and some of them put to finance and ransom; but not Sir Bertrand du Guesclin so soon; for Sir John Chandos, who had the rule of him, would not deliver him; and also Sir Bertrand made no great suit therefore.

Now let us somewhat speak of King Henry, what he did when he departed from the battle; and then let us return again to the prince, and to King Don Pedro of Castile.

King Henry saved himself as well as he might, and withdrew from his enemies, and led his wife and his children, as soon as he might, into the city of Valence* in Arragon, where the King of Arragon was, who was his godfather and friend; and to him recounted all his adventure. And, anon after, the said King Henry was counselled to pass further, and to go to the Duke of Anjou, who as then was at Montpellier, and to shew unto him all his adventure. This advice was pleasant to the King of Arragon, and he consented well that he should go thither, because he was enemy to the prince,

* Valentia—then under the dominion of the King of Arragon.
—ED.

who was his near neighbour. So thus King Henry departed from the King of Arragon, and left in the city of Valence his wife and his children, and rode so long that he passed Narbonne, the which was the first city of the realm of France on that side; and after that Beziers, and all that country,* and so came to Montpellier, and there found the duke of Anjou, who loved him entirely, and greatly hated the Englishmen, though he made them, as then, no war. And the duke, when he was well informed of King Henry's business, received him right joyously, and re-comforted him as well as he might; so the king and the Duke of Anjou had long treaty together. And, after, it was right well seen apparent, how that this King Henry did get of the Duke of Anjou a castle, near to Toulouse, on the marches of the principality, called Rockmore. And there he assembled together Companions and men of war, as Bretons, and such other as were not passed over into Spain with the prince, so that in the beginning there was a three hundred men of war. These tidings were anon brought to my lady princess, who as then was at Bordeaux, how that King Henry purchased him aid and succour on all sides, to the intent to make war to the principality, and to the duchy of Guienne, wherewith she was greatly abashed. And, because that he held himself in the realm of France, she wrote letters and sent messengers to the French king, desiring him not to consent that the Bastard of Spain should make her any manner of war, seeing that her resort was to the court of France, certifying him that much evil might ensue, and many inconveniences fall

* See map prefixed to Vol. II.

thereby. Then the king condescended lightly to the princess's request, and hastily sent messengers to the Bastard Henry, who was in the castle of Rockemore, on the frontiers of Montauban, and was beginning to make war to the country of Aquitaine and to the prince's land, commanding him incontinent to avoid out of his realm, and to make no war in the land of his dear nephew the Prince of Wales and of Aquitaine. And, because to give ensample to his subjects that they should not be so hardy to take any part with the Bastard Henry, he caused the young Count of Auxerre to be put in prison, in the castle of the Louvre, in Paris, because he was so great and conversant with this King Henry the Bastard; and, as it was said, he had promised him to aid him with a great number of men of arms : but thus the French King caused him to break his voyage and promised. So thus, at the commandment of the French king, King Henry obeyed, the which was good reason ; but for all that he left not his enterprise, but so he departed from Rockemore, with a four hundred Bretons, and to him was allied many noble Breton knights and squires. And these men of arms and Bretons rode over the mountains, and entered into Bigorre, in the principality, and there took by scaling a town called Bannyers, and then they fortified and repaired it well and strongly, and then overran the prince's land, and did great hurt and damage therein. Then the princess did send for Sir James Audley, who was abiding behind the prince in Aquitaine, as chief sovereign governor to keep the country. Howbeit this said King Henry the Bastard and the Bretons did great hurt and damage in the country, for daily their power increased more and more.

Now let us return to the Prince of Wales and to his

company, who was in the vale of Valladolid, and thereabout, abiding the coming of King Don Pedro of Castile.

Thus when the prince had sojourned in the vale of Valladolid until the feast of St. John the Baptist in summer, abiding for the coming of King Don Pedro, who came not, nor could not hear no certain tidings of him; wherewith the prince was right sore troubled, and called all his council together, to know what was best to do in that behalf. Then the prince was counselled to send two or three knights to the king, to demand of him why he kept not his day as he had assigned. And on this message was sent Sir Nesle Loring, Sir Richard of Pontchardon, and Sir Thomas Banaster; and they rode so long by their journeys that they came to the city of Seville, where they found King Don Pedro; and by semblance he right joyously received them. These knights did their message as they had in charge by their lord the prince. Then the king answered them in excusing of himself, and said, "Sirs, certainly it greatly displeaseth us that we cannot keep the promise that we have made with our cousin the prince, the which we have oftentimes shewed unto our people here in these parts; but our people excuseth themselves, and sayeth, how they can make no sum of money as long as the Companions be in the country, for they have three or four times robbed our treasurers, who were coming to our cousin the prince with our money. Therefore we require you to shew our cousin for us, that we require him that he will withdraw, and put out of this our realm, these evil people of the Companions, and that he do leave there some of his own knights; to whom, in the name of him, we will pay and deliver such sums of money as he de-

sireth of us, and as we are bound to pay him." This was all the answer that these knights could have of him at that time, and so they departed and went again to the prince their lord, and then recounted to him and to his council all that they had heard and seen; with the which answer the prince was much more displeased than he was before, for he saw well how that King Don Pedro failed of his promise and varied from reason.

The prince then demanded counsel in that behalf of his people, who desired to return home, for they bore with full great trouble the heat and the infective air of the country of Spain. And also the prince himself was not very much at ease,* and therefore his people counselled him to return again, saying, how King Don Pedro had greatly failed him, to his blame and great dishonour. Then it was shewed openly that every man should return. Then the prince departed and all his company; and, after some delays on account of the passages in Arragon and Navarre, they came to the city of Bayonne, where he was received with great joy. And there the prince refreshed him four days, and then departed and rode to Bordeaux, where he was also received with great solemnity; and my lady, the princess, met him with her young son Edward, who as then was of the age of three years. Then departed the lords and men of war one from another, and the lords of Gascony went home to their own houses, and the Companions came also into the principality abiding for their wages. The prince was much bound to them, and promised to pay them to his power, as soon as he had money; though King

* i. e. not well.—ED.

Don Pedro kept not his promise with him, yet he said, they should not bear the loss thereof, since they had so well served him.

Then King Henry the Bastard, who was in the garrison of Banniers in Bigorre, departed thence with such men of war as he had, and went into Arragon, to the king there, who loved him entirely and joyously received him. And there he tarried all the winter, and there made a new alliance between him and the King of Arragon, and promised to make war on King Don Pedro. And the Bretons that were in their company rode to the passages of Spain, and made war for King Henry.

Now let us speak of the deliverance of Sir Bertrand du Guesclin.

After that the Prince of Wales was returned into Aquitaine, and his brother, the Duke of Lancaster, into England, and every lord into his own country, [1367] Sir Bertrand du Guesclin was still with the prince, and with Sir John Chandos, and could not come to his ransom nor finance; the which was sore displeasing to King Henry, if he might have mended it. And so it fortuneth after, as I was informed, that on a day the prince called to him Sir Bertrand du Guesclin, and demanded of him how he did: he answered and said, "Sir, it was never better with me; it is reason that it should so be, for I am in prison with the most renowned knight in the world." "With whom is that?" said the prince. "Sir," quoth he, "that is with Sir John Chandos: and, Sir, it is said, in the realm of France and in other places, that ye fear me so much that ye dare not let me out of prison; the which to me is full great honour." The prince, who understood well the words of Sir Bertrand du Gues-

clin, perceived well how his own council would in no wise that he should deliver him, unto the time that King Don Pedro had paid him all such sums as he was bound to do. Then he said to Sir Bertrand, "Sir, then ye think that we keep you for fear of your chivalry; nay, think it not, for I swear by St. George it is not so: therefore pay for your ransom a hundred thousand franks, and ye shall be delivered." Sir Bertrand, who desired greatly to be delivered, and heard on what point he might depart, took the prince with that word, and said, "Sir, in the name of God, so be it: I will pay no less." And when the prince heard him say so, he would then gladly have repented himself: and also some of his council came to him, and said, "Sir, ye have not done well so lightly to put him to his ransom." And so they would gladly have caused the prince to have revoked that covenant; but the prince, who was a true and a noble knight, said, "Since that we have agreed thereto we will not break our promise; it should be to us a great rebuke, shame and reproach, if we should not put him to ransom, seeing that he is content to pay such a great sum as a hundred thousand franks." So, after this accord, Sir Bertrand du Guesclin was right busy, and studying daily how to get this sum for his ransom; and did so much with the aid of the French king and of his friends, and of the duke of Anjou, who loved him entirely, that he paid, in less than a month, a hundred thousand franks. And so he departed, and went to serve the Duke of Anjou, with two thousand fighting men, in Provence: whereas the duke lay at siege before the town of Tarrascon, the which held of the King of Naples.

CAP. VI.

OF THE FURTHER PROCEEDINGS OF KING HENRY
AND KING PEDRO.

Now let us return to King Henry, who was, all this season, in the realm of Arragon, and let us shew how he persevered after.

The most part of the state of the prince and of his business was well known with the kings thereabout : as with King Peter of Arragon, and with King Henry ; for they laid great wait to know it. They understood well how the barons of Gascony were gone to Paris to the French king, [10] and in a manner began to rebel against the prince, with the which they were nothing displeased ; and especially King Henry : for then he thought to attain again to conquer the realm of Castile, the which he had lost by the means of the prince. And so then King Henry took leave of the King of Arragon, and departed from the town of Valence the great : and out of Arragon with him there went the Viscount of Roquebertyn, and the Viscount of Rodais ; and they were three thousand horsemen and six thousand a foot, with a certain Genoese that they had in wages. And so they rode towards Spain till they came to the city of Burgos, the which incontinent was opened and rendered up to King Henry ; and they received him as their lord : and from thence he went to the vale Valladolid. And when they of the town Valladolid understood that they of Burgos had yielded

up their town to King Henry, then they thought not to keep their town against him, and so yielded them to him, and received him as their lord.

And then he rode further to the city of Leon in Spain, the which incontinent was opened to him. And when it was that it was thus rendered to King Henry, all the country and marches of Galicia turned and yielded them to him. And to him came many great lords and barons, who before had done homage to King Don Pedro; for whatsoever semblant they had made to him before the peace, yet they loved him not, because of old time he had been to them so cruel, and they were ever in fear that he would turn to his cruelty again; and King Henry was ever amiable and meek to them, promising to do much for them; therefore they all drew to him. Sir Bertrand du Guesclin was not as then in his company, but he was coming with a two thousand fighting men, and was departed from the Duke of Anjou, who had atchieved his war in Provence, and broken up his siege before Tarrascon, by composition, I cannot shew how. And with Sir Bertrand du Guesclin there were divers knights and squires of France, desiring to exercise the feat of arms: and so they came towards King Henry, who as then had laid the siege before Toledo.

Tidings came to King Don Pedro how the country turned to his bastard brother, there as he lay in the marches of Seville and Portugal, where he was but smally beloved. And when he heard thereof, he was sore displeased against his brother, and against them of Castile, because they forsook him; and sware a great oath that he would take on them so cruel a vengeance, that it should be ensample to all other.

Then he sent out his commandment to such as he trusted would aid and serve him ; but he sent to some such as came not to him, but turned to King Henry, and sent their homages to him. And when this King Don Pedro saw that his men began to fail him, then he began to doubt, and took counsel of Don Ferdinand de Castro who never failed him. And he gave him counsel that he should get as much people together as he might, as well out of Grenada as out of other places, and so in all haste to rise against his brother the bastard, before he did conquer any further in the country. Then the King Don Pedro sent incontinent to the King of Portugal, who was his cousin german : also he sent to the King of Grenada and of Bennamarine, and to the King of Tremecen, and made alliances with these three, and they sent him more than twenty thousand Saracens to help him in his war. So thus King Don Pedro did so much that what of Christian men and of Saracens he had to the number of forty thousand men in the marches of Seville. And in the mean season, while that King Henry lay at siege, Sir Bertrand du Guesclin came to him with two thousand fighting men, and he was received with great joy, for all the host was greatly rejoiced at his coming.

King Don Pedro, who had made his assembly in the marches of Seville, and thereabouts, desiring greatly to fight with the bastard, his brother, departed from Seville, and took his journey toward Toledo, [1368] to raise the siege there, the which was from him a seven days' journey. Tidings came to King Henry how that his brother King Don Pedro approached, and in his company more than forty thousand men of one and other. And thereupon he took counsel, to the which council

was called the knights of France and of Arragon, and especially Sir Bertrand du Guesclin, by whom the King was most ruled. And his counsel was, that King Henry should advance forth to encounter his brother Don Pedro; and, in what condition soever he found him, incontinent to set on and fight with him: saying to the king, "Sir, I hear say he cometh with a great puissance, and, Sir, if he have great leisure in his coming, it may turn you and us all to great displeasure; and therefore, Sir, if we go hastily on him before he be aware, peradventure we shall find him and his company, in that case, and so dispurveyed, that we shall have him at advantage, and so we shall discomfit him I doubt not." The counsel of Sir Bertrand du Guesclin was well heard and taken; and so King Henry, in an evening, departed from the host with a certain of the best knights and fighting men that he could choose out in all his host; and left the residue of his company in the keeping and governing of his brother the Count Don Tello; and so rode forth; and he had seven spies ever coming and going, who ever brought him word what his brother Don Pedro did, and all his host. And King Don Pedro knew nothing how his brother came so hastily toward him: therefore, he and his company rode the more at large, without any good order: and so in a morning, King Henry and his people met and encountered his brother King Don Pedro, who had lain that night in a castle thereby, called Montiel, and was there well received, and had good cheer; and was departed thence the same morning, weening full little to have been fought withal as that day. And so suddenly on him with banners displayed, there came his brother King Henry, and his brother Sancho, and Sir Ber-

trand du Guesclin, by whom the king and all his host was grealy ruled. And also with them there was the Bêgue de Villaines, the Lord of Roquebertyn, the Viscount of Rodais, and their companies; they were a six thousand fighting men, and they rode all close together, and so ran and encountered their enemies, crying, "Castile, for King Henry! and our lady of Guesclin!" And so they discomfited and put aback the first brunt. There were many slain and cast to the earth; there were none taken to ransom, the which was appointed so to be by Sir Bertrand du Guesclin, because of the number of Saracens that was there. And when King Don Pedro, who was in the midst of the press, among his own people, heard how his men were assailed and put aback by his brother, the bastard Henry, and by the Frenchmen, he had great marvel thereof, and saw well how he was betrayed and deceived, and in adventure to lose all, for his men were sore sprinkled abroad. Howbeit, like a good hardy knight, and of good comfort, he rested on the field, and caused his banner to be unrolled, to draw together his people, and sent word to them that were behind to haste them forward, because he was fighting with his enemies; whereby every man advanced forward to the banner: so there was a marvellous great and a fierce battle, and many a man slain of King Don Pedro's party; for King Henry and Sir Bertrand du Guesclin sought their enemies with so courageous and fierce will that none could endure against them. Howbeit, that was not lightly done, for King Don Pedro and his company were six against one; but they were taken so suddenly that they were discomfited, in suchwise that it was marvel to behold.

This battle of the Spaniards, one against another,

and of these two kings and their allies, was near to Montiel, the which was that day right fierce and cruel. And there King Henry's knights did many noble deeds of arms, the which was needful for them so to do, for they found fierce and strong people against them; as Saracens, Jews, and Portuguese; the Jews fled and turned their backs and fought no stroke; but they of Grenada and of Bennamarine fought fiercely with their bows and *archgays*, and did that day many a noble deed of arms. And King Don Pedro was a hardy knight, and fought valiantly with a great axe, and gave therewith many a great stroke, so that none durst approach near to him; and the banner of King Henry, his brother, met and rencountred against his, each of them crying their cries. Then the battle of King Don Pedro began to open; then Don Ferdinand de Castro, who was chief counsellor about King Don Pedro, saw and perceived well how his people began to lose and be discomfited; said to the king, "Sir, save yourself, and withdraw you into the castle of Montiel; Sir, if ye be there, ye be in safeguard, for if ye be taken with your enemies, ye are but dead without mercy." The King Don Pedro believed his counsel, and departed as soon as he might, and went towards Montiel, and so came thither in such time that he found the gates open, and so he entered, all only with twelve persons; and in the mean season the other of his company fought still in the fields, as they were sprinkled abroad here and there. The Saracens defended themselves as well as they might, for they knew not the country; therefore to flee, they thought was for them no avail. Then tidings came to King Henry and to Sir Bertrand du Guesclin, how that King Don Pedro was fled and withdrawn into the

castle of Montiel, and how that the Bêgue de Villaines had pursued him thither. And into this castle there was but one passage, before which passage the Bêgue pitched his standard. Of the which tidings King Henry and Sir Bertrand du Guesclin were right joyous, and so drew to that part, in slaying and beating down their enemies like beasts, so that they were weary of killing. This chase endured more than three hours, so that day there was more than thirteen thousand slain and sore hurt; there were but few that were saved, except such as knew the passages of the country. This battle was beside Montiel in Spain, the thirteenth day of the month of August, the year of our Lord God a thousand, three hundred, three score and eight.

CAP. VII.

OF THE DEATH OF DON PEDRO.

AFTER this discomfiture, and that King Henry had obtained the victory, then they laid siege round about the castle of Montiel, wherein was King Don Pedro. Then King Henry sent for the residue of his company to Toledo, whereas they lay at siege: of the which tidings the Count Don Tello and the Count Don Sancho were right joyful. This castle of Montiel was right strong and able to have holden against them all a long space, if it had been purveyed of victuals and other things necessary; but there was not in the castle scant to serve four days, whereof King Don Pedro and his company were sore abashed, for they were so straitly watched day and night that a bird could not come out of the castle without spying. Then King Don Pedro, seeing himself thus beset round about with his enemies, and knew no way of peace or concord, was in great imagination; so, all perils considered, and for default of victuals, he was counselled to depart privily at the hour of midnight, and twelve persons with him, and so to adventure on the grace of God; and guides were appointed to bring him in safe-guard. And so about the time of midnight next after, the King Don Pedro, and Don Ferdinand de Castro, and twelve other persons with them, departed out of the castle. The night was very dark, and the Bêgue de Villaines kept watch without, the same night, and a three hundred with him. And as King Don Pedro

and his company issued out of the castle, and went down a high way as privily as they could devise, the Bêgue de Villaines, who was ever in doubt lest they should scape, the which caused him to make the surer watch, he thought he heard men pass down the high way, and said to them that were about him, "Sirs, keep you still all privy, for methink I hear folk come in the way: we will go know what they be, and what they seek here in this time of night; peradventure there be some that are come to revictual the castle." Then the Bêgue stepped forth with his dagger in his hand, and came to a man that was near to King Don Pedro, and said, "What art thou?" And he rushed forth with his horse from him, and passed by them. The Bêgue stepped to King Don Pedro, who was next, and said, "What art thou? shew me thy name, or thou art but dead;" and took him by the bridle, for he thought he should not pass from him as the other did. And when King Don Pedro saw such a rout of men of war before him, and that he could not scape, he said, "Sir Bêgue de Villaines, I am King Don Pedro of Castile; I yield me to you as a prisoner, and put me and my company, the which are but twelve persons, into your hands and pleasure: and, Sir, I require you, by the way of gentleness, to bring me into some safeguard, and I shall pay to you such ransom as ye will desire, for I thank God I have enough wherewith, so that I may scape from the hands of the bastard my brother." Then the Bêgue, as I was informed, answered and said, "Sir, I shall bring you and your company into safeguard, and your brother shall know nothing of you by me." So thus King Don Pedro was brought to the Bêgue's lodging into the proper lodging of Sir Lyon de Lakonet; and he

had not been there the space of an hour when that King Henry and the Viscount of Roquebertyn and a certain with them, came to the same lodging; and as soon as King Henry was entered into the chamber, he said, "Where is that whoreson and Jew that calleth himself King of Castile?" Then King Don Pedro, who was a right hardy and a cruel knight, advanced himself, and said, "Nay, thou art a whore's son, and I am son to King Alphonso;" and therewith he took King Henry his brother in his arms, and wrestled so with him, that he overthrew him on a bench, and set his hand on his knife, and had slain him without remedy an the Viscount of Roquebertyn had not been there: he took King Don Pedro by the leg, and turned him upside down, so that King Henry was then above, who drew out a long knife and struck King Don Pedro into the body. Therewith his men came in to help him, and there was slain also by him a knight of England called Sir Ralph Holmes, who was sometimes called the green squire, and another squire called James Roulant, because they made defence; but as for Don Ferdinand de Castro and the other, they had none evil, but remained prisoners to the Bêgue de Villaines, and to Sir Lyon de Lakonet.

Thus ended King Don Pedro of Castile, who sometime reigned in great prosperity. And after he was slain he was left three days above the earth, the which, methink, was great pity. Then, the next day, the lord of Montiel yielded him to King Henry, and he took him to mercy, and all those that would turn to him. Then tidings ran over all Castile how King Don Pedro was slain, whereof his friends were sorry and his enemies joyful. But when the King of Portugal heard how his cousin King Don Pedro was dead, he was

right sorrowful, and sware, and said, that his death should be revenged; and so he sent incontinent his defiance to King Henry, and made him war, and kept the marches of Seville against him a certain season. But for all that King Henry left not his purpose in pursuing of his enterprise, but returned to Toledo, the which yielded up straight to him, and all the country thereabout. And at last the King of Portugal thought not to keep any longer war against King Henry; so there was a peace made between them, by the means of the prelates and the lords of Spain. Thus King Henry abode in peace king of Castile, and with him Sir Bertrand du Guesclin, Sir Oliver of Manny, and other knights and squires of France and Britanny. And King Henry did much for them, as he was bound to do; for without their help he had not obtained his purpose: and so he made Sir Bertrand Constable of Spain, and gave him the land of Loria, the which was yearly worth twenty thousand francs; and to Sir Oliver, his nephew, he gave the land of Crete, the which was yearly worth ten thousand francs; and also he gave fair lands to divers other knights and squires. Then the king went and lay at Burgos, with his wife and children.

END OF THE STORY OF THE BLACK PRINCE
IN SPAIN. [11]

NOTES

TO

THE BLACK PRINCE IN SPAIN.

- [1] "*The French King did his pain to help to get out of prison Sir Bertrand du Guesclin, who was prisoner with Sir John Chandos And, after his deliverance, they fell to treaty with the Companions,*" &c. p. 120.

BERTRAND DU GUESCLIN was the most celebrated captain on the French side, during the wars of this period ; and from the condition of a cadet of a noble but decayed Breton family, arrived at being Constable, first of Castile, and afterwards of France. His military talents were undeniably great ; and, as a mere soldier, he certainly deserved his reputation. But it is remarkable, as betokening the moral character of the age, that Du Guesclin, on whom honours and fame were showered with a profusion the most lavish, and of whom the historians of the period speak with the most high and unqualified praise, was little better than a captain of the Companions of Adventure, and did not scruple to join in the usual practices of that honourable confraternity.*

* A notice of these Adventurers will be found in Vol. II.

The reader will, probably, not be displeased if I trace consecutively, though briefly, this celebrated person through life.

Bertrand was the son of Regnaut du Guesclin, a Breton gentleman of noble family, but decayed fortunes. From his earliest infancy, he evinced that fiery disposition which led him, in after years, to such feats of personal bravery. The temperament of Du Guesclin seems, indeed, to have been innately *pugnacious*. Sheer fighting, hard dry blows, were the amusement and delight of his childhood. He was constantly at fisty-cuffs with the young peasants around his father's château; and was repeatedly brought home beaten to a jelly. It was with the greatest difficulty that his father and mother, by dint of reproof, broke him of this habit.—“He is the worst boy in the world,” his mother was wont to say; “he is always being hurt, his head broken, beating or being beaten. His father and I would be glad to see him under ground.” He would seem, also, to have early initiated himself into another equally general occupation of a man at arms of the period. When a stripling, not being furnished with horses, arms, &c., to join in the warlike sports that were going on around him, he was accustomed to purloin his mother's jewels to supply his necessities. His first public feat, however, was on an occasion when, we are told, he found it impossible to come at any valuables, as was his wont. A tournament was held at Rennes, at which his father was to be present; but Bertrand had neither horse nor arms. He went, however, furtively; and seeing a knight retire to his lodging early in the day, he followed him, and obtained, by his entreaties, his horse and armour. Du

Guesclin entered the lists with his visor closed ; and fifteen consecutive courses, run successfully, gained him the title of *the Adventurous Squire*. At length his father appeared to oppose him, when Bertrand flung his lance upon the ground, and raising his beaver, displayed to his delighted father the countenance of his son, as being this brave and successful joustier.

When the wars of Brittany broke out, the Du Guesclins took the side of Charles of Blois, to whose family they were attached ; and Bertrand, gathering together several adventurers, carried on a partisan warfare against the English and the party of De Montfort. He possessed himself by stratagem of the castle of Fougères in the forest of Tillai, which he made his strong hold ; and, by his bold and successful exploits, laid the foundation of that reputation which afterwards rose to such a height. The first time of his appearing in general history is at the defence of Rennes against the Duke of Lancaster, in the year 1357. The duke had besieged it for a considerable time, and had made a vow that he would never abandon his enterprise till the place was taken. It was reduced to the last extremity—being so closely invested as to prevent the possibility of succour from without. At length, a private citizen of the town devised a stratagem for its relief. He feigned to desert to the English, and informed the Duke of Lancaster that a large body of French troops was advancing to force him to raise the siege. The duke, as the man had expected, led forth the greater part of his army to oppose their approach. The citizen contrived to escape from the English, and meeting Du Guesclin, who had been hovering round Rennes for some time, informed him of what had been

done. Du Guesclin immediately attacked the enemy's camp, committed great ravages within it, and carried off two hundred waggons of provisions into the town, before the duke had discovered the trick that had been played upon him, and returned to his lines.

Although the duke was, naturally, exceedingly vexed at the stratagem which had thus succeeded against him, yet, with the spirit of generous valour for which he was so much distinguished,* he desired to see the knight who had accomplished so gallant an enterprise. This being notified to the party within, Du Guesclin received a safe conduct, and came to the English camp, where he was received with great honour. The duke was surprised at a knight, hitherto so little known, (the name was new to him when it was first mentioned,) having performed so considerable an exploit. He questioned Du Guesclin concerning his origin, fortunes, and prospects, and strove to engage him in his service. Du Guesclin said he was at his command in every thing that was not opposed to the interest of the chief of his party. "And who is that?" asked the duke. "It is my lord Charles of Blois," answered Du Guesclin, "to whom the Duchy of Brittany belongs of right." "Sir Bertrand," replied Lancaster, "before matters shall terminate in the way you have said, it shall cost a hundred thousand lives." "Well, my lord," said Du Guesclin,

* This was Henry, the cousin of Edward III., Duke of Lancaster and Earl of Derby. It was under his command that the great successes of the English in Guienne, at the opening of the war, were achieved. He was the second person in England that ever bore the title of duke; the Black Prince being the first, who was created Duke of Cornwall, March 17 1337.

"let them kill as many as they please, those who survive will wear the gowns of the others!" The duke, it is stated, was much pleased and amused with this answer. As Du Guesclin was about to return into the town, a knight called William de Brembro, a relation of a knight of the same name, who had been killed in the celebrated combat of thirty,* came forward and requested of Du Guesclin to run with him, the next day, three courses with the lance. "Plûtôt six, mon capitaine," was the ready answer of the intrepid Breton. The next day, accordingly, they met, and the Englishman was killed. The Duke of Lancaster was a spectator of the fight.

The succours which Du Guesclin had thrown into the place, the increased vigour of the garrison in consequence, and the approach of winter, rendered the capture of Rennes more difficult daily. The English constructed enormous machines to batter down the walls; and, as soon as they were brought into play, made a general assault at the same moment. But the attack was repulsed; and the garrison in a sortie by night burned the machines which it had cost the assailants so much time and labour to construct. All probability of reducing the town was now past;—but the Duke of Lancaster having sworn not to move from before it till it surrendered, obstinately continued the siege. At length it was suggested by Du Guesclin, and agreed to by the duke—that the place should be surrendered *pro formâ*; the duke pledging his word that he would, after his colours

* The contest of thirty English knights against thirty Breton knights of the party of Charles of Blois, to decide which had the fairest mistresses. The English were beaten, as they usually were in the contests of this kind so frequent at this period.

had floated over the town, immediately evacuate it. This very extraordinary compact was actually put into practice—and the English army withdrew after it had been completed.

Du Guesclin continued in the service of Charles of Blois till the peace of Bretigny; shortly after which event, he entered into that of the King of France. John, on his return from his captivity in England, was eager to secure Du Guesclin, whose fame had, by this time, become great and extensive. Du Guesclin offered to engage several of his own countrymen, if the king furnished him with the means. John, accordingly, gave him the appointments for supporting an hundred men-at-arms;* a circumstance from which M. Villaret draws the deduction, that the opinion, that it was Charles VII. who first established companies of ordonnance, is erroneous; and that he only renewed an establishment which the troubles of the kingdom had caused to fall into disuse.† The truth may probably lie between. It seems to have been so generally received, that Charles VII. established the companies alluded to, that it is probable that he was the first who organized them with regularity; although some of his predecessors, as John in this instance, might have given to individual commanders the pay of a troop, and told them to raise it themselves. Thus it was with Du Guesclin—who gathered together a chosen body of

* A company of a hundred men-at-arms consisted of six hundred men,—to every lance, besides the man-at-arms who bore it, were attached three archers, a *couteleur* (so called from his bearing a *couteleas*, a weapon something resembling a bayonet) and a page.

† Histoire de France par Velly, Villaret, et Garnier; Tom. V. p. 261.

Bretons, with whom he began his career in the French service.

When his troops were raised, Du Guesclin was sent into Normandy—to check the depredations of some of the English garrisons, who had not evacuated their strongholds. After several gallant exploits, in partisan warfare, he was called into action on a greater scale, on war breaking out between the French and the King of Navarre. The domains of Charles the Bad, in Normandy, became the seat of war; and the successes of Du Guesclin were great and uninterrupted. At this period, John of France died in London. Du Guesclin fought the battle of Cocherel three days before the coronation of his successor, where he completely routed the Navarrese, with their English auxiliaries, and took their commander, the celebrated Captal de Buch, prisoner, saying, “He would send the captal as a present to *hansel* King Charles’s royal crown.”* This battle is very celebrated in history, on account of the celebrity of the commanders on each side. The Navarrese and English were posted on the top of a hill—to draw them from whence, Du Guesclin feigned to retreat. The Navarrese, transported at what they considered the timidity of the enemy, fell into the snare, in despite of the remonstrances and entreaties of De Buch; who knew Du Guesclin too well to believe that his retiring was anything but a manœuvre. He was not, however, listened to;—and his troops, moving in a disorderly manner into the plain, were easily defeated by the French army, which, having drawn them irrevocably upon the level ground, faced about, in exact

* *Hansel* is a provincial word—Irish, I believe—but we have no term of legitimate English so nearly to translate *étrenner*.

order, to encounter them. The defeat was total ; and the Capital de Buch was made prisoner.

In reward for this victory, Du Guesclin received the county of Longueville. Not long after, the truce in Brittany being expired, he was sent to the assistance of his old master, Charles of Blois. In noticing the removal of Du Guesclin, and his troops, from Normandy, M. Villaret has the following passage—which too exactly tallies with the view I have taken of these times for me not to quote it:—"The Bretons which Du Guesclin commanded, committed an infinity of disorders in leaving Rouen—outraging all they met, and pillaging indiscriminately friends and foes. As the representation of manners is one of the principal objects which has been held in view in writing this history, this trait in the conduct of Du Guesclin and his people serves to make known the character of the warriors of that age. What excesses must they not have committed, when Du Guesclin, considered in his own time as an irreproachable knight, was not exempt from this spirit of rapine, notwithstanding the generosity on which he plumed himself." *Tom. V. p. 320.*

Although neither France nor England were any longer principals, or even ostensible allies, in the wars of Brittany,—still they furnished aid respectively to the claimants whose cause they espoused.* Du Guesclin was sent

* The following are the grounds of these claims:—Arthur II., Duke of Brittany, had, by his first wife, three sons, John, Guy, and Peter ; and, by a second marriage, one son called John de Montfort, from the name of his mother's family. The eldest son John succeeded his father ; Guy died leaving one daughter, Jane, who married Charles of Blois ; Peter died young. On the death of John III., in 1341, Charles claimed the duchy in right of his wife, as daughter of De Montfort's elder brother :

to Charles of Blois, and Sir John Chandos to Montfort. The circumstances of this campaign (1364) are extremely interesting and romantic; and I regret that, without exorbitantly lengthening this notice, I can do no more than briefly recapitulate them. The barons and people of Brittany seem to have been pretty equally divided between the two parties; and now, wearied out with a war that had lasted, at intervals, upwards of twenty years, every endeavour was made to effect a reconciliation, rather than again have recourse to arms. The forces of the contending claimants met in the plains of Beaumanoir; and, after considerable negotiations, it was agreed that they should equally divide the duchy between them, both retaining the title of duke. Rennes was to be capital of the eastern portion, and Nantes of the western. Hostages were given for the due fulfilment of the treaty, of whom Du Guesclin was one, and the armies dispersed. The civil broils which had so long torn unhappy Brittany seemed now to be finally appeased—they were, however, on the point of breaking out with greater violence than ever. When the Countess of Blois, in whose right the claim of her husband accrued, was made acquainted with the arrangement that had been concluded, her fury knew no bounds. She treated her husband as a poor spiritless craven, who had consented to forfeit their common rights from the most unworthy motives. It was in vain that he represented the miseries suffered by the country

and the last duke had designated Jane as his heir. De Montfort claimed as nearest male: France sided with Charles, England with John;—and thus the claims of Philip and of Edward to the crown of France rested on the principle directly opposite to that which they upheld in behalf of their Breton allies, respectively.

—the torrents of blood shed in the most shocking of all manners, in civil war—Jane of Blois would listen to nothing. If the whole world were ravaged and depopulated, she seemed to consider it a feather in the scale as compared with her claims to the ducal coronet of Brittany. She never ceased urging Charles to renounce the treaty he had formed. With her fierce countrywoman, she exclaimed—

“War! War! no peace! Peace is to me a war.”

In a word, she never rested till she had induced her husband again to assert his claim to the undivided duchy, and again to assemble his forces to put it to the issue of the sword.

Du Guesclin had, in the meantime, escaped from the hands of Montfort into France, and now rejoined Charles. After several ineffectual attempts at reconciliation, at Bordeaux and elsewhere, all frustrated by the inveteracy of the Countess of Blois,—the two armies, led the one by Chandos and Montfort, the other by Du Guesclin and Charles of Blois, met in the plains of Aurai. Montfort had all along protested against the renewal of the war—stating his readiness to abide by the terms agreed upon at Beaumanoir, and casting all the guilt of the blood and misery which might arise from the re-commencement of hostilities upon the head of his competitor. Even after the two armies were drawn up in the field of battle, the attempts to negotiate were renewed. They all failed—and John of Montfort, recapitulating his former statements in the face of the knights and barons of his party, offered, if they did not think his claims just, even then to give up his endeavours to assert them, and retire in obedience to their opinion. In *this* point, Montfort's

offer was a mere mockery—there could be no doubt of what the answer of his army would be; but there is nothing to cast any doubt upon his readiness to adhere to the terms of the former treaty—and this alone gave his cause a strong moral superiority over that of Charles and his implacable and sanguinary wife.

The battle of Aurai is remarkable for having been, as is alleged, conducted with more approach to military skill and tactics on a broad scale, than any action yet fought in the middle ages. Crecy and Poitiers were routs rather than battles—and the battle of Najara, (detailed in the present story,) which was the chef-d'œuvre of the Black Prince, had not then taken place. It is said that Chandos, with the generosity attending great minds, warmly expressed his admiration of the manner in which Du Guesclin had drawn up his army. His own disposition appears, however, to have been equally skilful—and had, in addition, the crown of success. It was by a manœuvre with the reserve, that he decided the fate of the day, enclosing the enemy on every side, by a sudden evolution of that body. Du Guesclin was taken prisoner, yielding to Chandos personally—and the Count of Blois was killed. It is asserted that the impetuosity of Charles led him to act in defiance of Du Guesclin's advice—who thus was defeated and made prisoner, under circumstances very similar to those which had given him the advantage over the Captal de Buch at Cocherel.

The fall of Charles of Blois decided the long contest for the dukedom of Brittany. His widow retired into Anjou, and the towns which had held for him yielded to the conqueror. In conformity with the general dereliction of fallen fortunes, an anecdote is told of the battle of Aurai, singularly in accordance with the fondness for

supernatural omen so prevalent in that age. The historians of Brittany allege that a favourite greyhound of Charles of Blois, which was always about his person, just as the armies engaged, quitted his master; and, going over to the opposite ranks, singled out De Montfort, and fondled on him as he had been accustomed to do on Charles. M. Villaret, in recording the incident, which he does not seem to disbelieve as to fact, accounts for it very naturally by ascribing the dog's flight, in the first instance, to the rush of the charge; and his greeting Montfort, to the two claimants of the duchy being both similarly clad, in armour bearing the arms, crest, and other outward emblems of Brittany, as worn by its dukes. To this may be added that the dog was a *greyhound*; and, therefore, could not be guided by the chief sense of the species—that of scent. This incident is quite trivial—but, as narrated by the historians, is very characteristic of the times.*

It was in this captivity, commencing at the battle of Aurai, that the passage in the text to which this note is appended, states Du Guesclin still to have remained at the time Henry of Transtamare offered to enlist the Companies in his service, and thus rid France of these most troublesome guests. The cessation of hostilities in Brittany had even, if possible, increased the ravages of these desperadoes. Repeated offers were made to engage them in foreign service—in Hungary, and in a crusade solicited by the King of Cyprus;—but they were become

* Froissart makes no mention of this; but he tells a similar story of Richard II. and Bolingbroke. He gives the name of the dog, which he calls *Math*. The circumstance, which scarcely could have occurred twice, seems to me more likely to have happened at Aurai, for the reasons above given.

dainty, and would take only such service as promised to be lucrative in pay, as well as in a pleasant country, plentiful in plunder, and, above all, not too distant from France, which they called their *Chamber*, as being their ordinary place of abode. The offer of the Bastard of Spain seemed more plausible; and Du Guesclin was singled out as the fittest person through whom the negotiation could be made, and to whom the command of the Adventurers might be intrusted, and therewith the responsibility that they should in fact, and speedily, quit France.

Chandos demanded 100,000 francs for the ransom of Du Guesclin;—this was paid; 40,000 francs by the French king, and the rest by the Pope and the Count of Transtamare. It is scarcely to be thought that his holiness, even in his eagerness to assist Henry against Don Pedro, whom he had excommunicated, and declared unworthy to reign, would have been so active in his endeavours to set Du Guesclin free, could he have foreseen one of the earliest purposes to which he would have put his liberty. The Companions were at this time in the neighbourhood of Chalons-sur-Saône, to the number of 30,000 men. Du Guesclin, having procured from them a safe-conduct, went thither to treat with them. His exhortation is stated to have been pithy:—"My friends," he said, "we have done enough, both you and I, to damn our souls; and you can even boast of having done worse than me; let us do honour to God, and forsake the Devil," ("*faisons honneur à Dieu, et le Diable laissons.*") He held out to them the certain profit of the expedition into Castile, and the high probability of possessing themselves of Don Pedro's treasures. The King of France was to pay them a sum of 200,000 francs; and, to crown all, Du Guesclin

promised to take them to pay a visit to the Pope, at Avignon,* on their way to Spain.

Visits of this kind had previously, from time to time, been paid by the Adventurers; the holy college had already more than once been ransomed by them. To the thunders of the church they were utterly indifferent. They had resisted alike threats of damnation, and promises of paradise;—nay, a reward of every indulgence within the power of the church to bestow to any one who would drive out, or exterminate, the Companions, had been proffered in vain. The Companies closed with Du Guesclin's offer; and, after some of their leaders had gone to Paris, where they were nobly entertained by even such a monarch as Charles V., they set off on their march to Castile. True to his word, Du Guesclin first took them to Avignon. There he demanded a contribution of 200,000 francs, and absolution. The Pope wanted to compound matters; and offered as much absolution as they pleased, provided they excused him the money. Du Guesclin is reported to have answered to the Cardinal who was sent to treat with him, "My fellows might, perhaps, make a shift to do without the absolution, but the money is absolutely necessary." Upon this the Pope levied the sum upon the inhabitants of Avignon. But upon the Companions (who seem in this one instance to have exercised a sort of Robin Hood virtue) learning whence the money came, they insisted upon its being returned to the burghers, and the Pope paying out of the

* This was before the commencement of the great schism of the West, when the papal see was wholly at Avignon. See Note [11] to the story of Gaston de Foix, vol. II.

holy purse. Everything at last was arranged to their satisfaction. They were paid and blessed, and went cheerfully upon their journey. Thus, having robbed the Pope and Cardinals, and half frightened them to death, Du Guesclin and his troops proceeded into Spain to depose Don Pedro, as the contemporary historians tell us, for being a rebel to "Holy Church !"

The deeds and adventures of Du Guesclin in Spain, the reader will find in the present story. At Najara his genius seems a second time to have sunk before that of Chandos, who again made him prisoner. But it is needless to recapitulate these events, which the reader will find at full in the text.

After the second deposition of Peter, Henry, now become king, made Du Guesclin Constable of Castile ; and he remained in Spain till the year 1369-70—when, the war having again broken out between France and England, on the occasion of the appeal of the Gascon lords, Du Guesclin was recalled by Charles V. and made Constable of France. Immediately on his appointment, he assembled an army of 4,000 men at arms at Caen, and with this force he commenced that career of uninterrupted success and glory which continued to his death. I have already, more than once, alluded to the peculiar nature of this second war, by which we were, in so short a time, stripped of all our conquests in France. There are none of those great historical battles the very name of which strikes upon the ear like the sound of a trumpet. It was by sieges of petty forts, by continual skirmishes, by war (if I may be permitted the expression) in detail, that the effects of Crecy and of Poitiers were lost. The names

of most of the scenes of these conflicts are barely remembered in history—yet the work was equally done, the object was equally answered, as though fields as famous as those of Cocherel, or Najara—of Crevant, or Verneuil, had been the scenes of action. Voltaire, in speaking of these successes of Du Guesclin, compares his first campaign after he became Constable, in Maine and Anjou, to the celebrated one which gained Turenne the reputation of being the greatest general in Europe.

It is obviously impossible to follow Du Guesclin through the details of a war conducted on the principle I have described. It would swell this note, already long, into an immeasurable bulk; which, from the disjointed and episodical nature of its contents, would prove very wearisome to the reader. I shall add only an account of his death and of his burial. The latter is remarkable from his having been the first person, not of the blood-royal, who was interred with the honours of a son of France.

It was while he was lying, at siege, before a small and obscure fortress, that the great Du Guesclin died. The place is known only as having been the scene of that event; but that has sufficed to make its name live in history. The Constable had laid siege, in July 1380, to the castle of Randan, in the district of Gévaudan, not far from Puy, in Auvergne. He had, as was not unusual with commanders at that period, sworn never to leave the place till it was taken. Whilst, however, the siege was proceeding with vigour, Du Guesclin was seized with a fever, which brought him to the grave in a few days. When he felt his end approach, he prepared

himself to meet it with that firmness which became him, and which had always marked his character. He received the offices of religion with apparent devotion, and took a solemn and affecting leave of the warriors whom he had so often led to victory. He exhorted them to remain true to the King of France;—and to make war with humanity, sparing the humble and defenceless. He also expressed regret that he had not always so acted in his youth. He then desired to be left alone with his sworn brother in arms, Oliver de Clisson, who ultimately became his successor. “Sir Oliver,” he said, “I feel that death is approaching fast, and I can say to you but little. Tell the king that I am sore vexed, that I have not longer done him service—most faithful would I have been;—if God had given me the time, I had good hope to have cleared his kingdom of his enemies of England. But he has good servants, who will occupy themselves therewith, to the same effect as I;—you yourself, Sir Oliver, the first. I beg of you to take back to him the sword which he intrusted to me, when he gave me the sword of Constable. He will know well how to dispose of it, and to make choice of a worthy person. I commend to him my wife and my brother—and, now, farewell!—I can no more.” In a few minutes after he had thus spoken, Du Guesclin died.

The garrison of the castle of Randan had (according to a common practice of the period) promised to surrender to him, by a given day, unless previously relieved. Although he died before the period arrived, they fulfilled their agreement; and bringing out the keys, laid them before the coffin of the departed hero.

By his will he had desired to be buried in the church

of the Dominicans, at Dinan, in Brittany; and the funeral procession accordingly set out for that place. But Charles V. sent to have its direction changed towards St. Denis; and thither it came, across a great part of France, being met everywhere with tears and mourning, and royal funeral honours.

The procession did not pass through Paris, "in order to spare," say the historians, "the feelings of the people of that city, who had almost looked upon Du Guesclin as a tutelary angel." They flocked, however, in crowds without the gates to mourn him, as his body passed. The Dukes of Anjou, Berri, and Burgundy, brothers of the king, the Duke of Bourbon, his brother-in-law—and all the princes of the blood, and chief nobles of the kingdom, attended his inhumation at St. Denis. He was interred in a mausoleum, erected, by the king's order, at the feet of that which he had had constructed for himself. Charles is said to have been completely overcome by his grief, when the officers of the Constable presented themselves before him. The following simple inscription is over the remains of this celebrated man:—

ICI GIST NOBLE HOMME MESSIRE BERTRAND DU GUESCLIN, COMTE DE LONGUEVILLE, ET CONNETABLE DE FRANCE; QUI TREPASSA AU CHASTEL NEUF DE RANDAN, EN GIVAUDAN, EN LA SENECHAUSSEE DE BEAUCAIRE, LE 13^E JOUR DE JUILLET, 1380. PRIEZ DIEU POUR LUI.

Du Guesclin was, in person, of middling stature—his complexion was brown, or rather black—his eyes appeared to be starting from his head—his shoulders were broad, his arms long, his hands small—his limbs

were vigorous and well-proportioned, and his countenance was warlike. He is represented as having been exceedingly ugly, so that, as the French historians very Frenchly observe, he never was agreeable to the ladies even in his youth. The authors of the curious MS. metrical Life of Du Guesclin, quoted repeatedly by M. Villaret, make him jest upon his own want of beauty:—

“Jamais, disoit-il, je ne serai ni aimé ni conveis (*bienvenu*)
Ainçois serai des dames très toujours éconduits,
Car bien sçais que je suis bien laid et malfettis,
Mais puisque je suis laid, être veux bien hardis ;”

—and when, on his second liberation, the Princess of Wales very nobly remitted 20,000 of the 100,000 francs demanded for his ransom,—he is stated to have said that, although he had hitherto, from his ugliness, never dared to hope to please the fair, he might now boast of having found favour in the sight of the noblest lady of Christendom.

His moral portrait, the reader has now the means of drawing for himself. I think a very great degree of military genius must be conceded to Du Guesclin; and, for the rest, though he was guilty of violences which deserve strong condemnation, yet, as he did not carry them to the same length as many of his contemporaries, I am inclined to attribute them rather to the general spirit of that age than to the individual character of the man.

[2] *Their message was, desiring him to open the straits of his country, and to give free passage to the Pilgrims of God, who had enterprise, by great devotion, to go into the realm of Grenada, to destroy the Infidels, and exalt the Christian faith.* p. 121.

In the first place, this was a *lie*. Their enterprise was to go into Castile to dethrone Don Pedro; and this, Don Pedro full well knew. There can be nothing, also, more barefacedly impudent than the pretence of *devotion* being one of the motives for depriving Peter of his crown. The true cause of the animosity of the Holy See against him, was that he had "shaken the bags of hoarding abbots."—He had shown a disposition to check and control the clergy; and this, far more than his leaguings with infidels, was his real offence against the authority of Holy Church. That secular motives entered into the Pope's feelings in formally deposing him, is evident from the circumstance that the King of Aragon, in whose behalf, he being "a good and true Christian prince," his holiness professed to interpose, had, as we have seen, equally with Peter, leagued himself with *Mahound*. When Christian princes were desirous of cutting each other's throats, they were indifferent whether the instrument of destruction was a knightly lance, or a Moorish scimitar. Du Guesclin, too, and "the Pilgrims of God," whom he headed, had just arrived from plundering his Vicegerent on Earth—by way, I suppose, of "exalting the Christian faith." It is the hollowness of bubbles like these that has led me to doubt the accuracy of many of the accusations against Peter of Castile. A goodly

list of murders is certainly made out against him; but far the greatest part of those authenticated, were deaths inflicted for rebellion against him;—and why is that to be called *murder* in one king, which is recorded as the *execution of justice* in another?

[3] *And then these men of war passed the great river that departeth Castile and Aragon, and so they entered into the realm of Spain.* p. 121.

This river was the Ebro, which, rising in the mountains of Asturias and Biscay, runs in a direction nearly south-east, and thus divides, first Navarre, and afterwards Aragon, from Old Castile. It is curious that the terms Spain and Castile are often used indiscriminately, as though Aragon and Navarre were not part of Spain. Thus the present kings of Spain follow the enumeration of the kings of Castile, although, in the union of the crowns by marriage, the male party was the ruler of Aragon. In the days of Peter the Cruel, Catalonia and Valencia (to say nothing of the possessions beyond sea) were under the sway of Aragon, and thence brought the two powers much nearer to an equality than the extent of the mere modern provinces known under the names of Aragon and Castile would designate. It is true, however, that Castile possessed León, Galicia, Andalusia, and part of Murcia, so that it was the preponderating power in the Peninsula, though not, I think, in the degree to be called Spain, *par excellence*. It is a curious fact that, throughout this period of history, the name of Madrid is never once mentioned, even incidentally. The Cortes were

held at Burgos and Seville, according to the king's convenience ; and Valladolid and Toledo appear to have stood next in importance.

[4] *And therein, he and his wife and children entered.*
p. 122.

This is a mistake of Froissart. Don Pedro at this time had no wife, neither does he seem, from the Spanish historians, to have been accompanied by any *maîtresse en titre*, who might have been mistaken for one. Both Blanch of Bourbon and Maria de Padilla had been dead some years ; and it would appear that Pedro never returned to Donna Joanna de Castro, after his leaving her immediately upon their so-called marriage. It would be curious to learn whether the Don Fernand de Castro, whose fidelity to the king under all his reverses seems to have struck Froissart so strongly, was a relation of this ill-used woman. Although true faith always makes the strongest appeal to the feelings of mankind, our admiration of this faithful follower would be sensibly diminished, if he were nearly connected with a woman whom his master had dishonoured.

[5] *Thus the prince was moved in his courage to aid and assist this King Don Pedro in his trouble and business.*
p. 131.

It is difficult to decide what were the real motives of the prince to enter upon this expedition, farther than an abstract love of glory, and a desire to advance his mili-

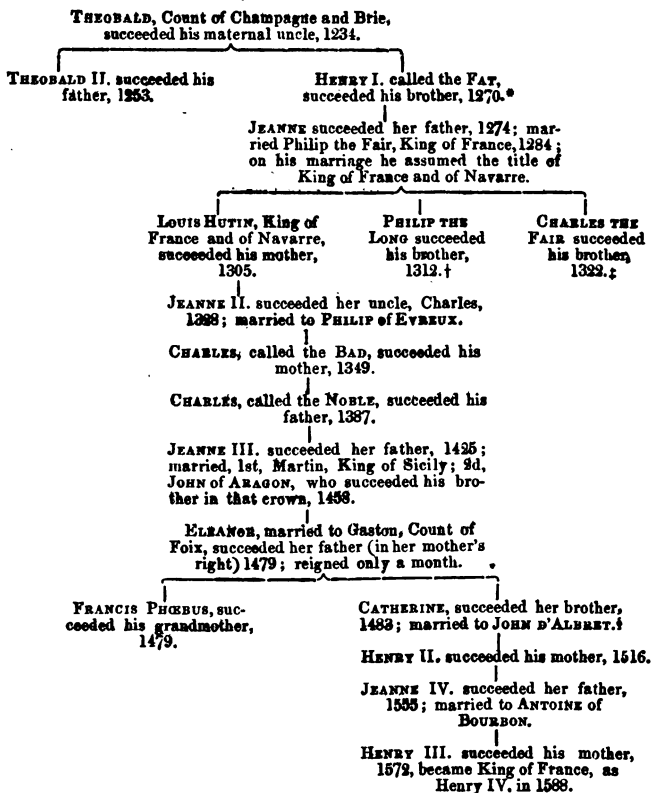
tary reputation still higher. The animosity which he must naturally have felt against the interests of France, could not here come into play, for they were, in no degree, compromised in the question ; and the mere fact of several knights of that nation having joined the standard of Henry of Transtamare, could scarcely have much weight. To England and Acquitaine it could be of but slight importance whether Henry or Pedro reigned in Castile ; while the expense of such an expedition could not but be very sensibly felt. It is true that Don Pedro promised to furnish the pay of the companies who were to be engaged in it ; but this manifestly depended upon its entire success, and various other contingencies ; not to mention that which eventually threw the burthen upon Edward—namely, breach of faith on the part of the Castilian. This utter absence of national motive is one of the worst attendants of a war ; and, in this case, notwithstanding the brilliant successes with which the military operations were attended, it ultimately was the direct cause of the reverses of the English in France, as well as of the destruction of the prince's health.

Among the many curious circumstances attending this expedition, one not the least so is the readiness with which the Companions left Du Guesclin at the first word from the Prince of Wales. There cannot be a stronger proof of his extreme reputation with the soldiery of that period. For, as their sole object was plunder, and as plunder depends on success, they, of course, would adhere to that banner which they considered to be most likely to prevail.

[6] *In this council there were sage men who considered that the prince could not well make this voyage without the accord and consent of the king of Navarre; for they could not enter into Spain but through his country, and through the straits of Roncesvalles. p. 134.*

This King of Navarre was Charles the Bad. He is so prominent a person in the history of this period, that I think it necessary to make some brief mention of him here; and, as the title of King of Navarre comes, from time to time, across the path of general French history, in a manner primarily so puzzling, I shall prefix to my notice of Charles individually, a table of descent of that kingdom.

Sancho, called the Strong, King of Navarre, dying without issue, in 1234, the crown passed into the House of Champagne, in the person of his sister's son, whom he had adopted: this was



* This prince, having lost his only son, established the exemption of Navarre from the Salic Law. This was strongly resisted by the States, which is remarkable, inasmuch as the crown was never afterwards two generations without passing through a female.

† From 1312 to 1318, Philip the Long governed Navarre as Regent, on behalf of his niece, Jeanne, to whom he was guardian. He then, however, usurped the kingdom, making a treaty with Eudes IV. Duke of Burgundy, the maternal uncle of Jeanne, agreeing to give her in lieu a pension of 15,000 francs, and a sum of 150,000. In this treaty there was a clause stipulating that, if Philip the Long should die without male children, Navarre should revert to his niece.

‡ In despite of the above clause, Charles the Fair possessed himself of Navarre; but he renewed it, and on his death without male issue in 1328, Jeanne and her husband succeeded to their inheritance of Navarre; Champagne and Brie remained attached to the French Crown.

§ Catherine and her husband were stripped of Navarre by Ferdinand the Catholic. Their descendants were only titular kings of Navarre; their real possessions were Bearn and Foix.

I have purposely begun this genealogy at a remote period, in order to show that the pretensions of Charles the Bad to Champagne and Brie, which gave rise to so many of the dissensions between him and the King of France, were perfectly well founded. But there were also personal causes of dislike between the two Charleses, and in these, too, I do not perceive the blame so totally to lie on the side of him of Navarre as the historians would make it appear. They were, while Charles V. was still dauphin, engaged together in a conspiracy against King John : * this was discovered ; the Dauphin was pardoned—and, either as the price of his forgiveness, or to show the sincerity of his repentance, betrayed his former colleague into his father's hands. He invited him to Rouen, where a party lay in wait to surprise him. This, I think it will be admitted, was an act of pretty tolerable treachery. In the sequel, Charles the Bad committed many such, and worse ; but the difference is, that they are all recorded, and recorded in the blackest colours,—while this base deceit of Charles V. is barely noted as such at all. Previously to this, however, in January 1354, Charles the Bad had caused the constable of France, Charles de la Cerda, to be assassinated. Here again the most extraordinary difference is made by historians in their estimation of the crime of Charles of Navarre, and of a very similar one by John, King of France. The prede-

* To show the spirit in which the historians of the period write with reference to Charles the Bad, this is always stated in words to the effect that he led the Dauphin into a conspiracy against his father. Why should he thus arbitrarily be considered the leader ? There was no material difference between their ages.

cessor of La Cerda, the Constable d'Eu, had been put to death by John's orders, immediately on his succession *—yet *he* was called the Good.

After his capture at Rouen, Charles was put into prison, where he remained till 1357. I think it is not very surprising that, when he escaped, which was not long after the battle of Poitiers, he should endeavour to take advantage of the troubles of the kingdom that succeeded that event; and that he should feel, for the rest of his life, a strong degree of hatred against his kinsman and namesake of France. It may, at first sight, appear strange that the king of a foreign country, such as Navarre, should be so mixed up, as we find Charles, with the internal politics of France: but it is to be borne in mind that he had large possessions in Normandy, as Count of Evreux, to which he succeeded in right of his father; and that the enforcing his claims upon Champagne and Brie was always the primary object of his ambition. At one time he also, for a moment, asserted his claim to the crown of France itself,—to which he was manifestly entitled according to the principle of succession laid down by Edward III., viz.—that, though females could not inherit the crown themselves, “on account of the weakness of their sex,” they could transmit their rights to their male heirs, to whom that objection could not apply. According to this doctrine, Charles's title stood first, in right of his mother, daughter of Louis Hutin. But he never very seriously brought forward this claim, knowing his utter inability to enforce it. He rather used it as a political engine to forward his other

* See Notice of Peter the Cruel.

views, than on its own account. The Companions also occasionally employed it as a pretext for obeying neither the King of England nor of France.

On his escape from prison, Charles came to Paris, where he encouraged and excited the spirit of disaffection already so prevalent. He joined himself to the popular party, headed by the celebrated Stephen Marcel, provost of the merchants. Both by his spirit of intrigue, and his powers of eloquence, which were great, Charles was especially fitted to shine as the leader of a faction. He frequently harangued the people of Paris, setting forth the errors and iniquities of the government, and representing himself as their truest and best friend. It was at this time that he set up his claim to the crown of France; but, finding the hopelessness of obtaining it, he leagued himself with the English, to make war against the Dauphin, then Regent of France. He possessed himself of Mantes and Meulan; and Blanch, his sister, the widow of Philip de Valois, delivered up Melun also into his hands. By the possession of these places he commanded the navigation of the Seine, and prevented provisions passing by water to Paris, which soon caused an extreme dearth to prevail there. At last, the Parisians, with whom Charles had lost his popularity, both by his alliance with the English and his intercepting their supplies, pressed the Dauphin, now Regent, to lay siege to Melun. In the year 1359, he sat down before the place. It is remarkable that within its walls there were no fewer than three queens:—the dowager and consort Queens of France, and the Queen of Navarre, daughter of John, and wife to Charles the Bad. The besiegers made a vigorous assault, which was repulsed; and the pope's

legates availed themselves of this opportunity to bring about a peace between the parties. The principal conditions were, that Charles should keep Mantes and Meulant, and give up Melun.

After the accession of Charles V., in 1364, Charles the Bad again commenced war against him. With the assistance of his brother Louis, he possessed himself of Charité-sur-Loire; but soon lost it again, the Duke of Burgundy taking it by capitulation. It was during this war that Du Guesclin invaded his territories in Normandy, and fought the battle of Cocherel, as mentioned in the first note to the present story. Charles, disheartened by these reverses, ratified, in May 1365, a treaty which had been made between him and the King of France, early in the same year; by which the Navarrois ceded the towns and chatelainries of Mantes and Meulant, receiving in compensation the town and barony of Montpellier, in fief, it being erected into a peerage * on the occasion.

After this, we do not see much more of Charles the Bad on the surface of general history—except that he was accused of poisoning his wife, and of endeavouring to poison half the princes in Europe, from time to time. Seriously, such attempts are laid to his charge with reference to the Count of Foix,†—and to Charles VI. of France and all his uncles, “at one fell swoop.” The authors of “*L’Art de vérifier les Dates*” speak of this last offence in terms of certainty. They say that he employed an Englishman,

* *Pairie*: a domain which gave the rank and privileges of peer of France to its possessor.

† See next story.

who had access to the king's kitchens, to poison the food of the whole royal household. The man was discovered and confessed all, laying the instigation upon Charles of Navarre; and, be it remembered, this was the only evidence.

His own death was marked by very peculiar circumstances. By several, though not by all, historians, it is mentioned that, having fallen into a very debilitated condition, from the excesses of his life, his physicians directed him to be wrapped in a sheet saturated with brandy. While thus enveloped, the sheet caught fire, and the king died in consequence of this horrible accident. His death took place on the 1st of January, 1387, when he was fifty-five years of age.

Charles is represented as having been the handsomest man of his time, and endowed with very brilliant qualities of mind. But, in despite of all his address and his total want of scrupulosity as to means, he was not very eminently successful in the prosecution of his chief objects. He had, it is said, a rapid change of purpose, and an eager adoption of new projects, which tended to counteract the effects of his skill, subtlety, and eloquence. He has been handed down to us as emphatically the bad prince of his age. I have assuredly no wish to deny many of his crimes, or to defend any of them,—but I think that, like Peter the Cruel, he has not met with equal justice, and that the sins of others have often been accumulated upon his head.

- [7] "*The king his father gave license to one of his sons, John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, to go to the Prince of Wales, his brother, with great number of men of war*
p. 138.

JOHN of Gaunt was eventually much more interested in this expedition than he had any idea of at the time; for he afterwards married Constance of Castile, Don Pedro's daughter—and, thence, inherited his claims to the crown. John of Gaunt's first wife, who at this time was still living, (she died in 1369,) was daughter of Henry, Earl of Derby and Duke of Lancaster; grandson of Edmund, called Crouchback, brother of Edward I.* The great successes of the English in Guienne, at the beginning of the war, were all achieved by him, and he was the only person in England who was denominated by the title of duke;—the title of Duke of Cornwall yielding, as an appellation, to that of Prince of Wales. But not only was the Duke of Lancaster the most exalted in rank, he was also the wealthiest and most powerful of English subjects. He died of the plague in 1361, without male

* Attempts were made, during the contests of York and Lancaster, to spread a report that Edward and Edmund were twin brothers; and that the former was the younger, but was preferred on account of his brother's deformity. This story never gained much credit: but Mr. Godwin, in his life of Chaucer, points out that it did not even possess a colour of truth; for, he shews that Edmund was six years younger than his brother, and of a fine and martial person: his epithet of *Crouch-back* signifying *Crossed-back*, viz. one who had assumed the cross for the Holy Wars, which was worn on the left shoulder. Mr. Godwin cites the term *Crutched Friars*, as springing from a similar cause.

issue—when John of Gaunt inherited all his estates and riches,—the only sister of his wife, who had married the Duke of Bavaria, being dead. He is said to have had estates in every county in England, with castles upon nearly all of them ; among which were Kenilworth, Pontefract, Bolingbroke, and Leicester. He also built the palace of the Savoy, in London, said to have been then the most perfect edifice of the kind in Christendom. John of France was lodged there during his captivity in England.

John of Gaunt, at first only Earl of Richmond, was created Duke of Lancaster on the 18th of November, 1362—the day his father completed the fiftieth year of his age, and which he celebrated as a kind of jubilee. During this part of Edward's reign, the duke shared largely in the government ;—the Prince of Wales having fixed his residence in Aquitaine, and Lionel of Clarence being lieutenant in Ireland, and dying not long after. He accompanied, as we see by the text, the Black Prince into Spain ; and was, when some years afterwards ill-health compelled Edward to return to England, intrusted with the government of Aquitaine. It was at this time that he married Constance of Castile. Don Pedro brought, as we have seen, his children with him to Bordeaux, when he came to seek assistance from the Prince of Wales—and they remained there, either as hostages, or for the sake of security, when the expedition went into Spain. On the death of their father, they continued to reside under English protection ; and ultimately the Duke of Lancaster married the one sister, and his brother Edmund, Earl of Cambridge, afterwards Duke of York, the other. Upon his marriage, which took place in 1373,

John of Gaunt assumed the title of King of Castile and Leon. Several years afterwards, in the reign of Richard II., he invaded Spain with a large army to substantiate his claim. John, the son of Henry of Transtamare, was, at this time, the reigning king. He had claims upon the crown of Portugal, very similar to those of the Duke of Lancaster upon his own,—he having married the daughter of the late king; while the Portuguese, in their hereditary hatred to the Castilians, had set upon the throne his natural brother. This prince, also named John, had gained a great victory over the King of Castile at Aljubarota; but still feeling himself in dread of his power, he formed a strict alliance with the Duke of Lancaster against their common enemy. The duke took with him an army of 20,000 men, and a large sum of money, supplied by the English parliament. He was accompanied by his wife Constance, heiress of Castile, and his daughters. He landed at Corunna August 9, 1386. At this place he lay some time, besieging the castle—which, however, he did not succeed in taking; but he gained possession of St. Jago de Compostella, Padrone, and several other towns in Galicia. At the close of the campaign he had a conference with the King of Portugal at Oporto; when that king married Philippa, his daughter by his first wife, Blanch of Lancaster.

The following year, the duke and his son-in-law advanced into Leon; where, at first, they had some success. But the King of Castile, being assisted with reinforcements by the French king, kept them in check; and the heat of the climate, spreading an infectious disorder throughout the English camp, proved fatal to nearly two-thirds of the army during the course of the summer.

Froissart is of opinion that, if it had not been for the aid from France, the duke might probably have succeeded ; but in a climate which was so destructive to the health of his troops, this is scarcely, I think, to be supposed. Lancaster himself was nearly a victim to the distemper raging in his army. Having recovered, however, he retired into Guienne with the remains of his army.

The year 1388, the duke continued at Bordeaux, busily employed in negotiating on the subject of the claims to Castile, through the medium of the marriage of Catharine, his daughter by Constance ; who, of course, inherited her mother's title to the crown. At first, the Duke of Berri, uncle to Charles VI., King of France, was about to marry her. But the reigning King of Castile took such alarm at this alliance, fearing that France and England would unite against him, to set the duke of Berri upon his throne,—that he made the most advantageous offers to the Duke of Lancaster to induce him to consent to the union of the Princess Catharine with his eldest son, Henry Prince of Castile. This was at once a mean of settling for ever the disputes concerning the succession,—and, in some degree, softened the failure, the year before, of the duke's attempt upon the crown. He agreed, therefore, to the proposals of John of Castile ; by which, besides seating his daughter upon the throne, he was to receive 200,000 crowns for the expenses of his expedition—together with an annuity of 10,000 florins for himself, and another of equal amount for his wife Constance.

Thus ended, finally, the disputes regarding the crown of Castile, arising from the usurpation of Henry of Transtamare. It was observed that, by this expedition, John of Gaunt seated his posterity, by each of his mar-

riages, upon a throne. Ultimately, even the descendants of his natural children, by Catharine Swinford, obtained a crown—and that of his own country: for Henry VII. was descended from the Earl of Somerset, Lancaster's son by that lady.

[8] *The Archbishop of Agen, and the King of Majorca, were his godfathers ; p. 139.*

Agen was the capital of Agenois, one of the provinces ceded to England at the treaty of Bretigny. The King of Majorca here mentioned, had been despoiled of his dominions by the King of Arragon, and had sought refuge with the Black Prince at Bordeaux. The House of Arragon had, throughout the middle ages, continually claims upon Majorca, Sardinia, Sicily and Naples. With the exception of Sardinia, they may be said to have ultimately succeeded: for the modern rulers of Spain, down to Charles II., sprang through a female from Ferdinand the Catholic, the head of the House of Arragon. This King of Majorca made the Spanish campaign with the Black Prince.

[9] *Sir, behold here is my banner : I require you display it abroad, and give me leave this day to raise it ; for, Sir I thank God and you I have land and heritage sufficient to maintain it withal ; p. 146.*

No person could raise his banner who had not means to support fifty men-at-arms, with their usual complement of archers, &c. The following account given by Selden, of

Knights' Bannerets, throws every light upon the subject:—

"Bannerets, *Chevalier à Bannière*, or *Milites ferentes Bannerias*, have the liberty of bearing their arms in the field on a banner, given them. An old creation of them is before shewed out of the *Sallade*, wherein there is a solemn cutting of their pennons, or *drapeaux quarrez*, which are most properly banners. But the delivery of a banner at the first bataille was (according to one of the forms of ceremony already shewed) but a preparation, it seems, to the making, or being of a Banneret which followed at a second bataille. That is taken out of *La Division du Monde*, where also there is another form of creation of a banneret, without any relation to several batailles. And as much revenue as will maintain fifty gentlemen, at the least, under him to follow his banner, is there supposed requisite for such a dignity. *Pour faire un Chevalier Banneret* (so are the words) *cest quant il a longement suyvy les guerres, et que il a assez terres et revenues tant que il peut tenir et soudoyer cinquants gentilshomes pour accompagner sa Banniere. Lors il peult licitement lever l'adit Banniere, et non autrement, car nul autre home ne peut porter Banniere en Bataille sil n'a cinquant homes prestz pour batter.* And some say that a Bannaret need have but xxv gentlemen under him, some ten. But it is elsewhere also delivered (as in that is before cited out of *La Division du Monde*) that he must have fifty; as at the end of the old printed *Gesta Romanorum* in French; where also the cutting of the Pennon is expressly required, and the creation is thus attributed to the Constable or Marshals. * * * This dignity hath

been frequently both personal and patrimonial, or feudal. They are both comprehended in that definition of Ragueau : *Les Bannerets sont les vassaux, que peuvent lever Banniere, estendart, cornets, et compagnie de gens, et qui doivent servir avec banniere selon le condition de leur fiefs, ou que portoient les Bannieres en un armée.*"

Selden's Titles of Honour, Part II. Cap. 3.

Pennons, which were borne by ordinary knights, or knights' bachelors, were biforked ; a form which, it has been suggested by some, was adopted by the Crusaders in imitation of the tail of the swallow, as being typical of migration. It is not, I believe, generally known that the shape of the ordinary *weathercock* is imitated from that of the pennon ; which it was usual to place on the summit of the tent, or the highest tower of the castle.

[10] *They understood well how the barons of Gascony were gone to Paris to the French king ;* p. 168.

This was on the famous appeal to Charles V., as Supreme Lord of Aquitaine, against the hearth-tax imposed by the Prince of Wales. I have already, in the Notice of the English Power in Aquitaine, noticed this subject, which occasioned the infraction of the peace of Bretigny—and the reverses of the English in France. It is curious that there are few subjects on which the French historians write with more soreness and acrimony than on the accusation universally brought by English authors against Charles V. for breaking that celebrated treaty. They ground their defence upon its having never been fulfilled by Edward III., in allusion to the

interchange of renunciations never having formally taken place. But that the stipulations on either side had not been thoroughly complied with, is clear, from the fact of John of France (who certainly possessed, to a remarkable degree, the quality, rare in his age, of fidelity to his word) having returned into England to substitute himself in the place of his son, the Duke of Anjou, who had meanly broken his pledged parole of honour, by absconding while a prisoner at large. If the treaty had been finally executed, the hostages would have been restored.—Various minor conditions remained unfulfilled;* but the more important ones had not been disputed on either side. Edward III. had wholly ceased to style himself King of France; and the sovereignty of Aquitaine had been undisputedly exercised by him for several years. If it had been at all questioned, the occasion of his erecting it into a principality for his son would assuredly not have been allowed to pass unnoticed. The excuse of Edward never having performed the treaty, was evidently an after-thought, framed at the time to give colour to the purpose in hand. The real truth is, that Charles's power was before unequal to the attempt of repossessing himself of the territories lost by his father. By his prudent management, he had so increased it as to render his chances of success equal, if not superior, to those of the English—therefore, he struck the blow.

I do not desire to advocate the doctrine of the general violation of treaties, as occasion may serve;—far from it. In arrangements strictly inter-national, such an action is

* The whole amount of John's ransom had not been liquidated.

attended with all the moral turpitude which attaches to unjust wars. But, there are *some* treaties, destroying national independence, or impairing, in an excessive degree, territorial integrity—which, as nothing but force could have made them, nothing but force can preserve.

In the present case the fact is so clear, and the pretences on the other side are such mere quibbles upon words and formalities, in the teeth of plain reason and common fairness, that I am surprised at the French writers having so strongly defended Charles V. upon this point. There can be no doubt that Edward's quarrel was originally an unjust one, and it is upon those broad grounds that the French king's conduct is to be vindicated. Voltaire, with his usual clear sense, and uncompromising uprightness as an historian, is almost the only French writer, with whom I am acquainted, who speaks of this matter in its true light. He says, "*la valeur et l'habileté de Bertrand du Guesclin, et surtout le bon ordre que Charles V. avait mis à tout, ennoblirent l'irrégularité de ces procédés;*"—but that they *were* irregular it seems to me to be the height of party prejudice to deny.

Charles V. is the first monarch of modern times who achieved both glory and greatness in the capacity of what, in our day, is called a statesman, without personally being a warrior also. His constitution, which was always feeble, seems to have unfitted him for a military life; and, with such hands to wield the sword as those of Du Guesclin, Clisson, Coucy, and I may add the Duke of Anjou, his brother, he might well content himself with forming the general plans, of which they were to complete the execution. There scarcely ever was so

constant a series of success ; nor, perhaps, ever results of such importance gained without some events of greater individual importance. *Non vi, sed sæpe cadendo*, seems, indeed, to have been the motto upon which the war was conducted.

- The tax upon every hearth, which caused the revolt of the Gascon barons, was imposed to cover the expenses of this war in Spain ; the Prince of Wales having made himself security to the Companions for their wages, in the event of Don Pedro failing them ; how totally and how shamelessly he did so, we have just seen. The prince, indeed, had every reason to desire to keep his faith with the Companies ; they had quitted the standard of Du Guesclin, at a moment's notice, to come to serve him, and they *had* served him with the greatest bravery, and the most complete success. But, assuredly, nothing could be more oppressive and unjust than that the people of Guienne and Gascony should pay the expenses of replacing Don Pedro upon the throne of Castile. But thus
- it is that national objects are lost sight of, in the personal quarrels of princes.

[11] *End of the story of the Black Prince in Spain* ; p. 178.

In despite of the many crimes of Peter the Cruel, there is something, as it appears to me, very touching in the circumstances of his death. His brother, Henry of Transtamare, seems not to have been very superior in point of moral goodness, and in mental and personal qualities decidedly beneath him. The treachery of the Bêgue de Vilaines fills the mind, as all such treachery

must, with indignation and disgust ; and when we find Don Pedro deprived even of (what we English are accustomed to rate so highly) *fair-play*, in the death-struggle,—something, I think, very like a sigh accompanies the exclamation, “ There died a brave man ! ”

Peter of Castile cannot be denied to have possessed most of the vices of his age ; but neither can it be said that he was fairly treated by his contemporaries. They did not, indeed, quite *condemn the doves, while they absolved the crows*, but, (as, on a Spanish subject, proverbs are in character) to quote a vulgar after a classical adage, they “ painted the devil blacker than he was.” As if he had not sins enough of his own to answer for, they have made him the object of blame for all the crimes that were committed around him. As they censured so few great men of the fourteenth century, the historians have made up for numbers by intensity ; so it is, I think, no wonder that, in those instances, they have handed one king down to posterity as Charles *the Bad*, and another as Peter *the Cruel*. As representatives of the vices of the period, they could scarcely have been otherwise named.

It may, perhaps, not be impertinent to add, in this place, a few words on the peculiar historical destinies of Spain ; for such reflections, I think, cannot but arise from several passages in the story which has just been read. We find Spain, at this period, divided into the kingdoms of Castile, Arragon, Navarre, and Grenada, and the lordship of Biscay. These petty states, always at war with one another, and with Portugal,—sanguinary, turbulent, yet weak,—betray no indications of that vast

power which, not more than a century and a half later, was presented by the same country. The rapidity, indeed, with which the political integrity of Spain arose, is among the many very extraordinary circumstances of its history. Towards the close even of the fifteenth century it remained in the same number of subdivisions as I have just enumerated—by the opening of the sixteenth, they were all extinguished. The marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella united Arragon and Castile; Grenada fell before the power of their arms, and Navarre by the subtle and crafty policy of Ferdinand. In the mean while, the claims of the house of Arragon upon Naples became finally established, by the exploits of Gonsalvo de Cordova, *the Great Captain*; and, more by fortune than by merit, Spain became possessed of the New World. Thus in the person of Charles V., to say nothing of the empire, became united that vast and mighty power, which, during the whole of that great era in the history of the world, the sixteenth century, overshadowed Europe with its preponderance and extent. During that period, the Spaniards were beyond all question *the Great Nation*. All the minor tributes to superiority,—imitation, namely, in fashions, language, arts, manners,—were paid by the other countries of Europe. In all the records of that date, we find continual references to the dangerous extent of Spanish power; in all pictures of popular life, we meet with scraps of Spanish interlarded in ordinary discourse—Spanish names given to men and things—and Spanish customs exalted and followed.

But, with all this vast degree of wealth and power, Spain did but little for the advantage or advancement of mankind. We owe Spain nothing. The discovery of

the New World is attributable to the great individual by whom it was achieved—not to the government which stunted him, thwarted him, and broke his heart. None of the liberal arts usually produced by riches—none of those commercial benefits which commonly are their attendants—were communicated by Spain to the countries around. Darkened by the gloom of superstition, weighed down by oppression of despotic government, Spain sank unmarked, unpitied, by silent yet rapid degrees, into a nation oppressed by her very grandeur. The bulk of the body remained—but deprived of the sinews from which it derived support. In the sulky self-concentration—the absurd *noli-me-tangere* haughtiness of her palmy days, Spain has found her ruin. Unwilling to communicate any of her advantages to others, in her prosperity, she had no external sources from whence to draw new vigour in her decline. Like the story which is told of one of her own kings, she has been destroyed by the very intensity of her pride and unyielding obstinacy.

But her reverses have been indeed humiliating. The story of Du Guesclin and the Black Prince alternately establishing their own *protégés* upon the throne, seems almost a fore-shadowing of the same acts on the part of France and England in later days. In the early part of the last century, English and French armies were contending in the heart of Spain, for the disposal of the Spanish crown. In the early part of the present century, the same scene has been acted again; and, although the first quarter of that century has but just expired, three times, during its course, have foreigners already placed a king upon its throne! These must be bitter reflections to Castilian pride; but let us hope that when brighter

days dawn upon Spain, that pride will lead her sons to struggle for the intellectual enlightenment and advancement of their country;—they have had but too bitter experience of the results to which its contrary application has led.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.







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